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GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

NEW SERIES. Volume V. Part II

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GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO. LTD.

CONTENTS OF PART II.

PAGE

SOME OLD ELGIN HOUSES. BY THE REV. PROFESSOR COOPER, D.D., 1

NOTES ON JACOBITE DRINKING GLASSES. BY REES PRICE, F.S.A. SCOT., 22

SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND. BY ROBERT S. RAIT, M.A., NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD, - 30

THE SARACEN'S HEAD INN. BY THOMAS LUGTON, - - - - - 51

THE SETTING OF THE MIRACLE PLAYS. BY PROFESSOR D. J. MEDLEY, M.A., - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 59

NEWARK CASTLE AND ITS OWNERS. BY J. S. FLEMING, F.S.A. SCOT., 68

CERTAIN PECULIARITIES IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF IONA. BY JOHN HONEYMAN, LL.D., R.S.A., - - - - - - - - - - 78

THE MATRIMONIAL ADVENTURES OF JAMES V. BY SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL (LYON KING AT ARMS), - - - - - - - 90

THE KINDLY TENANTS OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF GLASGOW. BY JOHN ARTHUR BROWN, - - - - - - - - - - - 105

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

ELCHIES HOUSE, HIGH STREET, ELGIN, - - - - - - - 16

OLD HOUSES, HIGH STREET, ELGIN, - - - - - - - - 16

HIGH STREET, ELGIN (LOOKING WEST), - - - - - - - 16

JACOBITE DRINKING GLASSES—

PLATE I., - - - - - - - - - - - - - 22

„ II., - - - - - - - - - - - - - 24

„ III., - - - - - - - - - - - - - 26

„ IV., - - - - - - - - - - - - - 28

SARACEN'S HEAD INN—

INTERIOR OF BALL ROOM, - - - - - - - - - - 56

SKETCH PLAN AND STABLE-YARD IN THE TIME OF ROBERT TENNENT, - - - - - - - - - - - - - 58

OLD STONES WHICH HAD BEEN USED AS BUILDING MATERIAL, - 58

NEWARK CASTLE—

GROUND PLAN, - - - - - - - - - - - - 70

NORTH OR SEA FRONT, - - - - - - - - - - - 72

DOORWAY, - - - - - - - - - - - - - 74

COURT SIDE, - - - - - - - - - - - - - 76

IONA CATHEDRAL— PAGE

PLAN OF ANCIENT CHOIR AS INDICATED BY EXISTING REMAINS, 80

SECTIONS OF ANCIENT CHOIR, - - - - - - - - 80

SECTIONS OF ANCIENT CHOIR AS INDICATED BY EXISTING REMAINS, - - - - - - - - - - - - 80

ANCIENT CHOIR, LOOKING NORTH, - - - - - - - 82

COUPLED SHAFTS IN CLOISTERS, - - - - - - - - 84

SOUTH AISLE, LOOKING EAST, - - - - - - - - 86

SOUTH WINDOW IN TOWER, - - - - - - - - - 88

No. I.

SOME OLD ELGIN HOUSES.

BY THE

REV. PROFESSOR COOPER, D.D.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 17th March*, 1904.)

ONE of the greatest of our Scottish men of letters, George Buchanan, in that interesting survey of Scotland with which he begins his History pays a high compliment to the Laich of Moray. It is, he says, "for fruits of all sorts easily the first [district] in the whole kingdom."

I have heard it said that it has the finest winter climate in the British Isles; and I have often applied to it—with a native's pride—the line in which Milton celebrates the praise of Attica:—

"Pure the air, and light the soil."

Both these advantages, its climate and its fruitfulness, as well as a third distinction, in which it is no less pre-eminent, and which is to be our theme to-night—its architectural pre-eminence—it doubtless owes in no small measure to the sandstone rock which, underlying it throughout, crops up, almost through the surface, at every summit of the long, low ridges—they can hardly be called *hills*—by which at intervals the prevailing flat is broken.

There are two ranges of these eminences, one along the coast from the mouth of the Lossie to Burghead; the other a couple of miles or

so further inland, on the south side of the once extensive Loch of Spynie, but still a little to the north of Elgin. Both of them have for ages supplied a beautiful, lasting, and yet easily worked material which the dwellers in the district might scoop, or carve, or build with.

At Lossiemouth, right from the western bank of the stream, there rose, of old, a cliff or promontory, rejoicing in the name of "Holy-Man Head," because there, in the ninth century, a holy bishop (the first ecclesiastic whom we can name as a labourer for Christ in this part of Moray), S. Gervadius or Gerardine, had dug for himself a cave, to which, according to the custom of those early saints, he was in the habit of retiring for closer fellowship with God. This cave, which had been decorated in later times with Gothic ornaments, continued to be a place of pilgrimage till long after the Reformation.[1] It was defaced in the eighteenth century by a drunken sailor; and the very site of it was quarried away in times more recent to make room for a railway station, and to supply building material for the neighbouring village—or group of villages—which has grown into a fashionable golf-resort and thriving burgh, and displays S. Gerardine upon its shield.

The caves in the many-tinted rocks of the next headland, that of Covesea, are outlined with dim figures of uncertain meaning and immemorial antiquity: from the quarries there were shipped to Aberdeen the once straw-coloured, now grey, freestone, whereof were built the three most notable among the older buildings of the Granite City—the Chapel of King's College, the twin spires of the Cathedral of S. Machar, and the West Church of S. Nicholas—the solitary work of Wren's London successor, James Gibbs, in his native country.

I am afraid to speak of Burghead in Mr. Macdonald's presence; but he will admit that if it was not Roman hands which scooped the so-called Roman Well at that "Winged Headland," the stately structure would have done them no discredit, while the interlaced carvings and incised bulls,

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[1] The *Kirk Session Records* of Elgin on 6th January, 1602, tell how a man and a woman were brought up charged with going to S. Geretyne's cave bare-footed and bare-legged for the cure of a "sair arm."

found on the same spot, and now preserved in the excellent little Museum at Elgin, might almost challenge comparison with the handiwork of the defter Greeks. My father used to speak of a tradition that the squared stones of the most ancient sanctuary in the county, the Parish Church of Birnie, were passed up from Burghead from hand to hand, a distance, I fancy, of about eight miles.

From the quarries in the Hill of Spynie, on the inner range of eminences, it is said that Elgin Cathedral was erected; it was on this ridge that the earliest cathedral of the diocese was situated, a tiny church in which Bishop Bricius (the first to rise to eminence of the mighty house of Douglas) organised a chapter modelled on that of Lincoln. The stone at Spynie was close-grained, hard, and nearly white; the quarries there, I imagine, are pretty well exhausted; but a great deal is still taken from the more westerly heights of Quarrywood (or Bishop-mill)—a yellower and softer stone, and from the extensive quarries at Newton on the Knock of Alves. This tower-crowned point is one of the few spots in Scotland where grows the lovely Swedish flower, named in honour of the Swedish botanist, the *Linnaea borealis*. Like this flower, the Newton stone is red, or rather pink, in colour.

All these beautiful varieties of freestone were abundant, easy to quarry, and close at hand, to any one in Elgin who might desire to build with them.

And there came to Elgin soon a builder able and willing to make the very most of such advantages—Andrew de Moravia, or Moray, a son of the family of Duffus ("the best of that noted surname," says Bishop Keith, and "a great and worthy prelate."[1] One wonders whether Keith remembered Bishop Andrew's kinsman of the former generation, the only Scottish mediaeval prelate to receive the honour of a formal canonisation, S. Gilbert of Moray, Bishop of Caithness, the great civiliser of that province. S. Gilbert was probably a native of Moray: at any rate he served here, for he was parson of Duffus and archdeacon of the diocese. I suggested to the Elgin people that they should call a new church they

[1] *Scottish Bishops*, p. 138.

are building after him; no more famous ecclesiastic ever issued from their borders.

But to return to Bishop Andrew. Succeeding Bishop Bricius, who died in 1222, he set himself at once to carry out what apparently had been the desire of that prelate—the removal of his cathedral to Elgin. "Spynie" (he wrote to Pope Honorius III.) "was a spot at once unsafe and solitary, where nothing could be purchased; so that Divine service in the Cathedral there was interrupted, through the clergy having to go so far to purchase the necessaries of subsistence." Wherefore he besought the Pope for leave to transfer his bishop's chair (*cathedra*) to a much more suitable (habiliorem) place for it, namely "the Church of the Holy Trinity" beside Elgin. It would seem, therefore, that in expectation of a favourable reply from Rome, Bishop Andrew had already begun, at least, to construct the large and splendid sanctuary he designed for his Cathedral. The King, Alexander II., was warmly interested in the movement, and gifted the site for the new church. The new building was so far advanced by the summer of 1224, that when in August of that year the Papal decree arrived conferring upon it the wished-for dignity, it was possible to perform the ceremony of promulgating the same within its walls. "It was done," says the record of it in the Chartulary of Moray, "within (in) the said church of the Holy Trinity of Elgin."[1] Nineteen years later the choir was ready to receive the body of the founder, who died in 1242. That choir may have been, at a subsequent date, extended to the Eastward. The second aisles of the nave—for the nave aisles at Elgin, as at Chichester, are double—were added in the fifteenth century; and the Cathedral was twice burned—in 1270, "perhaps only partially," and again, by the "Wolf of Badenoch," in 1390.[2] It suffered some injury at the hands of another Highland raider, Alexander Macdonald, a son of the Lord of the Isles, in 1402. The central steeple fell in 1506. The repairs executed after each of these calamities were doubtless executed in the style of their respective periods, and supply a sufficient explanation of the variety in the architecture of the church; but the first founder's work is traceable

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[1] *Registrum Moraviense.* No. 58. [2] Mr. Young, p. 419.

alike in the North transept and in the Western towers, and these sufficiently attest how large and how magnificent was the fabric he contemplated and reared.

Nor was it only on his Cathedral that Bishop Andrew employed his architects and masons. To the eight canons on his predecessor's foundation, he added fourteen more, and he accommodated all the twenty-two with manses and gardens in a spacious precinct beside the Cathedral—known as the College; it was 900 yards in circuit, and was enclosed by a lofty wall, containing four gates.

With such an example at their doors—for the Cathedral precinct was close to the East end of the Burgh of Elgin—the citizens (there is written evidence to show) were prompt to emulate the churchmen, and did so to such effect that when, in July, 1290, Edward I. of England, with "his mighty and invincible army," passed through the town (he stayed in it two days) on his expedition to the North, his clerk describes it as "the city of Eiglin, a good castle, and a good town." Of all the castles in Scotland, that of Elgin alone receives this compliment: the only other towns that are called "good" are "St. Andrews, Perth, Forfar, Montrose, and Aberdeen." Of this "good castle" (in which in 1231, King Alexander II., the greatest benefactor Moray ever had, says Mr. Young, kept the Christmas he spent at Elgin) only some shapeless fragments now remain, though something suggestive, at least, of towers, appears in Slezer's view of the town (about 1660). Nor is there any building in the town, except the Cathedral, which goes back so far. But the art of building had begun in the little city; it had been employed for civil as well as for ecclesiastical and military purposes, and it had come to stay. It continued for at least five centuries to develop features of its own.

Elgin Cathedral was one of the largest, and probably quite the most beautiful, in Scotland. But I am not going to say more of it to-night: it would require a paper, or rather a treatise, to itself.

Of the Precinct, however, I must speak. Considerable portions of the wall remain; and one of the four gates, known as the "Pans Port": the word is the same as *Pend*, in general use (I think) throughout Scotland for an arch at a close-head, and used for a gateway such as this. Since

I remember, it was overgrown at the top with ivy, as shown in the admirable etching by Alexander, in Rhind's *Sketches and Antiquities of Moray*, Elgin, 1839.

In the same work are sketches of two of the old Canons' Manses which were then standing: Unthank Manse, which seems to have been built somewhere about 1542, in the episcopate of Bishop Patrick Hepburn[1] (the uncle of Queen Mary's Bothwell); for it was this Prelate who, in that year, erected the chapelry of the Blessed Virgin in the Castle of Duffus into the Prebend of Unthank. The building was small, and in its later days much dilapidated; but so late as 1670 it had been occupied by some one entitled to conjoin on his shield the stars of the Inneses, the cross-crosslets of the Erskines, and the boar's heads of the Gordons, and of taste to match his birth, evinced by the elegant mantelpiece he caused to be erected in one of the sitting-rooms. On the site of Unthank Manse now stands the house called (I believe on my suggestion) the Chanonry. Just opposite was the second of those two vanished manses—the Elgin Manse of the Parson of Duffus. Duffus was always one of the chief benefices in the province, and its Parson was, from the first, a dignitary of the Cathedral. The house is said to have been built originally by John de Spalding, a Parson of Duffus in the thirteenth century, and was of sufficient size to be selected as the quarters of Edward I. in 1303.[2] To judge, however, by its style, the manse must have been rebuilt under the episcopate of Bishop John Winchester (Bishop of Moray, 1437-1458), a great builder in his day, who executed extensive works for James I. at Linlithgow and Stirling, and also built the older part—the part which, unhappily, fell some years ago—of the Bishop's Elgin Palace. Alike in each are the projecting window-sill, semicircular in shape, and a projecting canopy, which Messrs. MacGibbon and Ross in their great work on the *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of*

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[1] Bishop of Moray (1535-1573).

[2] The Prebendary of Duffus (Robert Keith) was one of the defaulting Canons whom Bishop Andrew Stewart, in 1487, ordered to live more regularly at the Cathedral, but he was not one of those who were ordered to construct for themselves houses (*Chartulary*, No. 209).

Scotland speak of as a local peculiarity. But the town Manse of Duffus had more than its graceful architecture to plead for its preservation. It was the *one* house in Elgin (after the abandonment of the Castle) which could certainly boast that a king had dwelt in it. James II. (of Scotland) stayed in it more than once when he was in the north, after the great rebellion of the Douglases. One of the most powerful nobles of that formidable house was Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, who had gained the earldom from the Dunbars by dealings which were less than righteous, and who lost it, and lost his life, in the fatal Battle of Arkinholme, 1st May, 1455. The King determined to give the forfeited earldom to his infant son, Prince David; and in 1457 he came "to Moray to set the province in order, and especially to arrange anew the rentalling of the Earldom lands, which stood as they had done in the days of Randolph. But," says Cosmo Innes,[1] "when he had come down, and seen the Spey and the Lossie, and lived for a while at Darnaway, Elgin, and Inverness, he felt, as all men have done, the fascination of the country. He ordered his horses to be brought north" . . . he made a forest on the Findhorn. "He chose Darnaway as his hunting seat, and completed the repairs on Randolph's hall there begun by the Douglases. But he had taste to like Elgin and its cultivated society of dignified churchmen. He sometimes took the hospitality of the Bishop, John Winchester (an old and faithful servant of the crown), at Spynie, which he erected into a burgh of barony in the good bishop's favour;[2] sometimes he dwelt in this little Duffus Manse, the Elgin residence of his own kinsman, David Stuart, Parson of Duffus—then employed in rentalling the Earldom, and afterwards himself Bishop, and remembered as builder of the magnificent great tower at Spynie," still called, after him, Davy's Tower.

While the King was on one of his visits to this Manse—in Lent, 1458—a fire occurred, which gave occasion to an entry in the Treasurer's Rolls,[3] illustrative of the fare on which Royalty, in those days, was content to subsist during the Forty Days of Abstinence ("Et allocate eidem pro piscibus que dicuntur stokfisch, et tribus bollis pisarum per compotantem

[1] Cosmo Innes, *Antiquities of Moray* (Elgin, past and present), pp. 20 *sqq.*
[2] *Reg. Morav.*, p. 221. [3] *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vi. 484.

ad expensas domicilii domini regis et combustis in manso compotantis tempore residencio sue . . . domino rege residente in dicto manso de Dufhous iiij lib. xvs."). Pulse and hard fish! The King had a new kitchen added to the manse. You will find one view of it in Rhind's *Sketches*, and another in MacGibbon and Ross, whose drawing is from a sketch made by J. C. Nattes so long ago as 1799.

This house continued in good order to the last: it was pulled down about fifty years ago and "a comfortable square box" erected on its site (Mr. Erskine Jamieson's).

A little to the east of it, amid beautiful gardens, still stands the Manse of the Archdeacon (this office was attached to the Parsonage of Forres, and the church of Forres to this day has two bells in its belfry in witness of its dignity). The house, now called the South College, has received many subsequent additions, but parts of it—in particular a vaulted chamber on the ground floor—existed when, for a year or two about 1536, it was the residence of the "Father of Scottish Prose," Archdeacon Bellenden, the translator of Boece, the translator of the first two books of Livy; and though by no means so eminent as a poet, commended in that capacity by Sir David Lindsay:—

> "A cunning clerk that writeth craftily,
> A plant of poets callit Ballanten,
> Whose ornat writts my wit cannot defyne."

A literary association, not unworthy to be joined with this, was added to the old house in the nineteenth century, when it became the home, for the last four years of his life (1849-1853), of Charles St. John, the author of *Natural History and Sport in Moray*.[1] "A most convenient and pleasant residence," says Cosmo Innes in his memoir of the naturalist, "for a sportsman with a family to educate. The house was large enough, and there was a big wild garden with some great old trees, and surrounded by an old ivy-grown wall" (part of the precinct wall it is) "which served as a secure retreat for the pets of himself and his boys. There is a pleasant society," Innes continues, "in and around the old cathedral city, embracing some men of science and students of nature, with whom St.

[1] This house is illustrated by Sir George Reid in the last edition of the above work.

John soon became a favourite. The children had the advantage of good schools, and for sport and the study of animals was there not the Loch of Spynie and the rocks of Covesea, where the peregrine breeds! . . . His life at Elgin was very happy."

These three manses were to the south of the Cathedral. To the north-west of it are the ruins of the Bishop's Town Palace. It was never large—the great palace of the diocese was at Spynie, some two miles off; and Boswell, who saw it in 1773, when Johnson and he visited Elgin, remarks that "the bishop's house, and others of the clergy which are still pretty entire, do not seem to have been proportioned to the magnificence of the Cathedral"[1]—a reflection one wishes were more often true as to the relative dignity of the house of God and the dwelling of His servant. But the Bishop's Palace if small was elegant; and on account of its architectural beauty was saved from demolition sixty years ago by the intercession of the late Mr. T. Mackenzie, architect. Four notable men had a hand in building it. Bishop John Innes, Bishop John Winchester, Bishop Patrick Hepburn, and a layman who, as a great builder, might rank with any of the churchmen, Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, Chancellor of Scotland under James VI., the builder of the finest example of "Scots Baronial" architecture in existence—the south front of Fyvie Castle. Bishop Winchester's portion—which (I remember) showed traces of fresco painting not unlike those still legible on his tomb in the Cathedral—fell some years ago; but what remains is graceful enough, and into the walls have been inserted some interesting shields, one which the Lyon King told me was the finest in all Scotland, bearing the arms and crest of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, the victor at Harlaw[2] (1411),

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[1] *Life of Johnson*, 1773.

[2] He was a bastard son of the Wolf of Badenoch, but though he came out of a bad nest, he was himself "a man of great honour and an ornament to his country." In right of his wife, Isabel Douglas, Countess of Mar, he inherited the Earldom of Mar and the Lordship of Garioch, which account, the former for the bend and cross-crosslets, and the latter for the three crowns upon his shield. He died without issue in 1426; but as Bishop Winchester's successor, Bishop Andrew Stewart (bishop in 1460), also blazons the three crowns, he may haye been a relation of the earl, and so put up his shield.

another being (possibly) the arms of King Alexander II., the one of all our kings who did most for Elgin; while on a third stone, along with the Royal Arms of Scotland, is the coat of the admirable Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinross and Bishop of Orkney, who left the money wherewith James VI. was able to establish the University of Edinburgh.

The old Deanery, or North College, lies a little further to the north. Part of the existing house is that in which the Dean of Moray, Maister Alexander Dunbar, was, post-Reformation in 1577, attacked by a party of the Inneses—a neighbouring family of note, now represented by the Duke of Roxburgh. The Dean's servants were beaten and his daughter murdered. The house seems to have passed, thereafter, by inheritance to a succession of Dunbars, one generation of whom, Dunbars of Burgie, occupied it in "the dear years" of "Wandering Willie's Tale," 1694-1700.

There was famine in the north of Scotland. "Morayshire,"[1] says its annalist, "being an early district perhaps did not feel it so much as the neighbouring counties of Aberdeen and Banff, and the Highlands; but tradition states that numbers of poor came to Elgin for food, which could not be supplied to them, and there died of famine. The Dunbars of Burgie, at the North College, were very charitable. They could not supply the wants of all, but they prepared every day a large caldron of thick gruel from oatmeal,[2] which was distributed to all applicants so long as it lasted. Many died on their way to the College in search of food; and it is stated that the dead bodies of famished persons were frequently found in the lane near the Cathedral, and were interred by the pious care of those whose alms they came to seek." The north wing of the house dates from the Dean's time. The dining-room (which, however, is built above a much older vault) was added by a Mr. Robertson, who died in 1816, and who planted the still fruitful orchard, in which might be seen the mulberry, the fig, the quince, and the medlar.

Near to the North College, and on its side of the stream, stood the old town mansion of the Inneses of Dunkinty, cadets of the Inneses of Innes. Sheriff Cosmo Innes, whose grand-uncle was its owner, says "he used to admire the gables of its dormer windows, decorated with coats of

[1] Young's *Annals of Elgin.*

[2] Then selling at £8 Scots the boll.

arms, the remains of old hangings of stamped Spanish leather, and the little concealed oratory, where the family, zealous non-jurors, could keep their service-books and say their prayers in time of trouble,"[1] and speaks of the old gentleman's portrait "in powdered wig and *chapeau bras*" and "the old Dunkinty coach, with its once splendid gilt nails and corners," which he saw at a later date "converted into a summer-house in an inn garden." My grandmother used to tell, what may have been a tradition in her days (she was born in the year of the three sevens) of the daughters of the house, a bevy of tall and handsome ladies, taking up the whole width of the High Street with their tremendous and powerful hooped petticoats. No fear of these breaking, as the sylph trembled for Belinda's:

> "Oft have we known that sevenfold fence to face
> Though stiff with hoops and armed with ribs of whale!"

Alas! Dunkinty House, like all these glories, has passed away. Its only relic now is the old brew-house, which supplies a picturesque feature to the newly laid-out park. The lands of Dunkinty lay at some distance from the house. They were the scene of a fierce episode in those Douglas wars, which were, as we have seen, the occasion of James II.'s frequent visits to Morayshire. In 1452, when the Earl of Huntly went south to fight the Battle of Brechin, Archd. Douglas, Earl of Moray, invaded the lands of Strathbogie and burned Huntly's castle. When Huntly came back victorious over the Tiger Earl of Crawford, he burned half the town of Elgin, which he found disaffected to his interest. Hence the proverb, "Half done, as Elgin was half burnt."[2] After this feat Huntly's horsemen scattered to lay waste his rival's lands; whereupon, the Earl of Moray, coming down from the hill where he had entrenched himself, and falling upon four or five hundred of the Gordons, drove them into the Bog of Dunkinty:—

> "Whaur are your men, my Gordon so gay?
> In the Bogs of Dunkinty mowing the hay."

The Dean's Haugh, on the other side of the Lossie. A slide of it

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[1] Under the Penal Laws against the Scots Episcopalians, 1746-1792.

[2] It was the third burning, Dr. Cramond notes, which the town had suffered within little more than half a century. (*Records of Elgin.*)

which I am about to shew you is very characteristic of the river's banks, and gives an idea at anyrate of the kind of spot to which a native of Elgin, who rose to eminence in the early sixteenth century—became tutor to Wolsey's nephew, a friend of the learned Cardinal Sadolet, and the author of a beautiful philosophic treatise, *De Tranquillitate Animae*—refers in the autobiographical passage I am about to quote—"Many years ago," he says, "before I came over into France, as I and John Ogilvie, who is now in the Scotch church at Cruden, a man of distinguished family and polished alike in manners and learning, sauntered together (for we were close companions) along the banks of the river Lossie, the first of Horace's *Satires*—he had Horace in his hand—

'Qui fit Maccenas ut nemo quam sibi sorte,'

led us into talking, one to another, of the storms and troubles of this human life [Ogilvie, the younger of the two], turned to me, and prayed me to shed some light upon these questions for our friendship's sake. 'Come back to me to-morrow (said I) if you love me; come back here when the sun begins to fall. I will expect you here on this bank, and, meantime, you will consult all your philosophers, and will be able to tell me whether it is to ourselves alone, or to [an inherent] vice [in the nature] of things, that the pain of the life-struggle is due.'"[1] So, as far back as the first quarter of the sixteenth century could two undergraduates of Aberdeen consult in their long vacation

"At summer eve by haunted stream."

So casually are the seeds dropped which ripen into living books. Volusenus died in 1546, in the course of a journey, at Vienne in Dauphiny, and was buried there; George Buchanan writing for him a touching epitaph:—

"Hic, Musis, Volusene, jacis carissime, ripam
Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria
Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus quae foret attrox
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos."

Here, on Rhone's banks, thou liest, Volusene,
The Muses' darling, from thy native land
How far! Thy virtue, sure, this recompense deserved
That earth which nursed thy talents held thy dust!

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[1] Quoted by Sheriff Mackenzie, *Byways among Books*.

Now let us turn our steps westward, along the green banks of Lossie, and rounding the western slope of the Ladyhill (its name comes from the chapel of Our Lady in the castle which crowned its summit), let us walk down the High Street from west to east. It is about a mile in length, widening, midway, to make room for the Tolbooth, for the "Plainstones," the Parish Church, the Market Cross; then narrowing again and terminating in a smaller expansion in the centre of which stands the Little Cross. It has lost all the old mansions of north country lairds of which once it boasted, the quaint early eighteenth century Tolbooth has given place to an ornamental (?) fountain with more stone than water, and a "sham Greek temple" of colossal size usurps the site whereon for six hundred years had stood the low-towered, cruciform Church of S. Giles. But the Muckle Cross has been restored, and above its shapely octagon rises a shaft of granite surmounted by a well-carved lion, of seventeenth century workmanship, bearing the cipher of one of the Kings Charles—it is disputed which. But with all its losses—and these have not been wholly without their compensations, I doubt if there is a street to compare with it in any country town in Scotland, unless it be at Kirkwall.

"Elgin," says Boswell in his notice of the town in his delightful *Journal of Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides*, "has what in England are called piazzas" (they were called that at Elgin too), "that run in many places on each side of the street. It must have been a much better place formerly. Probably" (he goes on) "it had piazzas all along the town, as I have seen at Bologna. I approved much of such structures in a town, on account of their conveniency in wet weather. Dr. Johnson disapproved of them, 'because,' said he, 'it makes the under story of a house very dark, which greatly overbalances the conveniency, when it is considered how small a part of the year it rains; how few are usually in the street at such times; that many who are might as well be at home; and the little that people suffer, supposing them to be as much wet as they commonly are walking in a street.'"

It is by no means improbable that Johnson's objection—which took no account of the piazza as an architectural adornment—may have con-

tributed to the doing away with them which from that day undoubtedly set in. The houses subsequently built were built without them; and in the existing houses which contained them and were spared, the piazzas were built up and made into little low-browed shops. When I was a boy I remember a good many where you could trace the pillars in the masonry in which these alterations had embedded them; and several instances where a close was entered from the High Street under one of the arches of an old piazza; but there was no open piazza left. Of late years, however, one or two have been reopened with excellent effect; while a considerable number of the short stone columns which supported the arches of houses now demolished have been preserved by the curious. Most of these are monoliths: even their capitals being carved out of the same block. A common adornment of the capital is a tiny adaptation of the Ionic volute, sometimes inverted. The Elgin piazzas, without exception (I think) are works of the seventeenth century.

Of the first or westmost house, of which I have a photograph, I can tell you nothing which the picture of it does not disclose. It has its gable to the street, and the close which runs along its front is entered under a singularly lofty and graceful arch. It is still standing.

Nearly opposite it stood till about 1850 a fine old piazzaed mansion, known as Auchry's House, or Elchies House, of which sketches were made by Mr. Alexander.[1] It was built about 1670, either by George Cumming of Lochtervandich, Provost of Elgin (who died in 1689), or by his son, William Cumming of Auchry and Pittullie. But it derived the name by which it continued to be known from Robert Grant of Elchies, who bought it somewhere in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and added a handsome dining-room and drawing-room, and used it as a town residence for his family. Along with his own children was an orphan nephew, William Grant (1752-1832), who got his schooling at the Elgin Academy, and subsequently rose to be Solicitor-General of England under Mr. Pitt, and Master of the Rolls.[2] "In Parliament," said Brougham, "he is unquestionably to be classed with speakers of the first order . . .

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[1] Illustration No. 1.

[2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

none was more easily listened to, none more difficult to answer"; and his success as a judge was equally remarkable.[1] "In the midst of a busy life," he continued, "not unmindful of the companions of his youth. He had a warm friendship for the Rev. William Gordon, minister of Elgin, who had been his class fellow in the Academy; and he left him a handsome legacy."[2]

Elchies House has been swept away: its site is now occupied by a branch office of the Caledonian Bank. Perhaps its fate is better than that which has befallen its next-door neighbour—Thunderton House,[3] of which some poor fragments only remain, and some even of these hardly to be seen across a squalid lane. "A handsome mansion it was in its time; and the grounds in which it stood extended to seven roods of burgh land. Originally it was a Royal residence; and it bears in its oldest titles the name of 'the Great Lodging.' It was the town residence of the Earls of Moray, after the Castle on Ladyhill was disused and ruined; and earlier (perhaps) of the Dunbars of Westfield, hereditary Sheriffs of Moray. In 1553 it passed into the possession of the Sutherlands, Lords Duffus, but they fell into poverty before their forfeiture" for the share in the '15; and the house and grounds were acquired by the Dunbars of Newton and Northfield, now represented by Sir Archibald Dunbar of Duffus. "It was," says Mr. Cosmo Innes, "a very fine specimen of town-house, and partook of the ornaments of several periods. The old part of the building which still stands was built, I suppose, by the Earls; the western front, with its fine balustrated tower—the balusters in shape of their names, 'Sutherland'—by the Lord Duffus. The rooms

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[1] Lord Coleridge told Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff that he "considered Grant the greatest judge we have had for the last hundred and fifty years," and added the following curious *ana* concerning him: "During all the years he passed in the Rolls House, he never once had the curiosity to look at the rooms even in the storey immediately above. After dinner, he solemnly consumed two bottles of port, then went into his Court and sat like a statue till both sides had had their say, whereupon he delivered those great judgments which are to this day a marvel to the profession."—*Notes of a Diary*, 1892-95, by the Right Hon. Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, G.C.S.I.

[2] Young, *Annals of Elgin*, p. 502.

[3] Thunderton House is pictured in Dunbar's *Social Life in Former Days*.

were large, and the cornices and ceilings much ornamented. . . . In the gardens were orchards and a bowling-green," which the learned Sheriff cruelly describes as "one of the luxuries of our lazy ancestors." "When the body of the first Duke of Gordon (who died at Leith in 1716) was brought down to be buried [in S. Mary's Aisle] in the Cathedral, his son, Duke Alexander, borrowed Thunderton House as the one in Elgin most suitable for the ceremonial of his interment—including, no doubt, the funeral banquet—and prayed Lady Thunderton to take some trouble in arranging the solemn hospitalities."

But it had a more romantic association still. On Tuesday, "11th March, 1746, Prince Charlie set out from Inverness for Elgin, and falling sick there was absent" from the Highland capital "for eleven days";[1] managing, however, before he returned, to reconnoitre his army, then guarding the passage of the Spey, and to cross that river and visit Gordon Castle. His sickness was a quinsy, through which he was nursed by one of the Dunbars, called the Lady Arradoul. It is a characteristic example of the devotion which the Stuarts, with all their faults, inspired in their supporters, that this loyal lady kept the sheets in which her Prince had slept, and gave orders that she should be buried wrapt in them. In the closing years of the eighteenth century the house was the residence of Alexander Brodie, father of the pious Elizabeth, (last) Duchess of Gordon. "He lived in great style, and had a large establishment with horses and hounds." The place was sold in 1800, when it was grievously cut up and altered. In one of the houses, then built between it and the High Street, I attended my first school, taught by a bright-eyed and kind old lady, Mrs. M'Kean, the widow of a Congregationalist missionary, who had been shot by the French at Otaheite, when Louis Philippe's Queen, Marie Amelie, was bent on proselytising in those islands.

On the opposite side of the High Street, a little further to the east, where is now North Street, stood another old mansion, Calder House, built between 1665 and 1686, by James Calder, merchant in Elgin, afterwards laird of Muirton, who represented the burgh in the Scottish

[1] Chambers's *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 176.

1. Elchies House, High Street, Elgin, demolished about 1850.

2. Old House, now demolished, in the High Street, Elgin.

3. Old House, High Street, Elgin, showing Arcade (or "Piazza") re-opened.

4. High Street, Elgin, looking West from the foot of Commerce Street, showing range of houses since demolished.

Parliaments of Charles II. (1669, 1670, and 1672): he was made a Baronet of Nova Scotia by James VII. in 1686, and was the ancestor of Admiral Sir Robert Calder (1745-1818). But its chief association in the minds of the people of Elgin was with Dr. Alexander Dougal.

"Wailing ghosts were heard
In Dr. Dougal's house."

Dr. Dougal's ancestry, however, was more remarkable than his own achievements. When James VII. was fighting in Ireland for the Crowns which he had thrown away by his flight from London, some soldiers of the Prince of Orange found in a ditch the dead bodies of an Ulster Protestant and his wife. Beside them was a living child, a fine boy. A charitable officer adopted him, sent him to Glasgow College, where he was bred to the ministry of the Church of Scotland, and in 1709 was settled as minister of Birnie, whence in 1721 he was "transported" to the neighbouring parish of Spynie. Two sons of this minister became medical men, one in Elgin and one in Keith; both were famous in their day, but the Elgin practitioner "lacks a sacred prophet." Of his brother at Keith, "the Rev. James Hall," who in 1807 published a book, *Travels in Scotland by an Unusual Route*, tells that when he was in that town "he saw a number of people collected in the streets. . . . He found it was occasioned by a woman having gone three different times to Dr. Dougal to have a tooth drawn, and as often ran out of his house, her toothache going away whenever she saw him come with his instruments to pull it out. Though extremely good-hearted, and always glad when he had it in his power to do good, he was so irritated, when he saw her running out a fourth time, that, holloing after her, and ordering her to be stopped, he followed her into the street; and having, as it was dry, laid her down, there pulled out her tooth, and left her, with half-a-crown, to a person to take care of her."

A short distance to the eastward was a smaller house,[1] described by Cosmo Innes (I think with justice) "as the prettiest old house then (1860) left in Elgin"; it has since been taken down; but not until it

[1] See Illustration No. 2.

had been photographed. It was very ornate; one of the pillars of its piazza was adorned with a simple but effective carving of a vine wreathed round it; the two end pillars were square instead of round, and were adorned with carvings of a mermaid, thistle, rose, etc. These, if I mistake not, are still to be seen in the garden at Ladyhill. One wishes that the Elgin Scientific and Literary Society—an active and energetic body, would collect these stones, and place them where they could be seen by the public, either in their excellent Museum or at Grant Lodge. This house is figured by MacGibbon and Ross, who, however, misname it Elchies House. It bore a date, and belonged to a Bailie Robert Donaldson, of the family of Kinnairdie, whose initials, with those of his wife Helen Culbach (or Culbard—a forebear, it was claimed, of the late Provost Culbard) are carved over the windows.[1]

I show you next several slides of a house, whereof the tower has been happily preserved. The front gable of this tower is crowned with a cross, described sometimes as "the iron cross of the Knights of Rhodes, or Malta," but for this, I fear, there is no foundation. The tower bears its date upon it—1634: much too late for any of those knights—and the arms of Bailie Andrew Leslie, of the Glen of Rothes, who represented the burgh in the first three Parliaments held after the Restoration (1661, 1662, 1664). Bailie Leslie was a merchant and trader in the town. He built the house. In the next generation it was the property and residence of another member of the Scots Parliament, also a prominent merchant in the burgh, David Stewart, Provost of Elgin. He sat in the Parliament of 1678 (the year of Archbishop Sharp's murder) and signed the Test of 1681. The more modern house to the west of it (1744) was the birthplace of the author of what I heard Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff describe as "the best book on Italy"—Joseph Forsyth, who had been taken prisoner by Napoleon Bonaparte, and wrote this book in the vain hope that the Corsican, then wishing to pose as a Maecenas, would reward him with his liberty. The house was (for the whole of a life prolonged to above ninety) the abode of Joseph's much-respected brother, Mr. Isaac Forsyth,

[1] Kinnairdie House proper, Mr. Young says, was at the top of Lossie Wynd.

an enterprising bookseller and publisher, and the helper into situations of innumerable "Elgin loons."

A house, immediately to the east of the old tower, illustrated by Billings, varied the round columns of its piazzas with square piers, adorned in low relief: it was dated 1680; but not even the industry of Mr. Young could determine whom the initials I.M. could stand for: in 1706 it belonged to a Bailie Cramond, in 1761 to a Captain Peter Innes of the Royal Artillery, and in 1826 was sold to Alexander Hay of Edinton (the grandfather of Provost Petrie Hay of Keith) who had a good deal to do with the building of the old pier at Lossiemouth.

I regret I have no view of the old house, "the largest ever built in the burgh," which Provost Stephen's son-in-law, Mr. James Miln, erected (out of a fortune he had made in London) in his native town in 1776. This house, modernized about 1876 for the City of Glasgow Bank, still stands. A good idea of what it was may be obtained from the print of the Burns Centenary Procession in 1859. But the old architectural taste was gone ere it was built. It was removed some fifty years ago; and since then has also disappeared the long-range shown in the next slide.[1] It belonged in 1770 to Provost Thomas Stephen—the first agent in Elgin of the Aberdeen Bank—the first bank agent there was in Elgin.

The house[2] with the restored—or rather re-opened—piazzas (for the pillars and arches are original) has been supposed to be the inn in which Dr. Johnson and Boswell put up in 1773; this, however, seems to be a mistake. The old inn was next door. It still stands, but its piazzas have been built up. The illustrious tourists "fared but ill," I grieve to say; "and Dr. Johnson said this was the first time he had seen a dinner in Scotland that he could not eat." Not much wonder, if the local tradition be correct that the pudding served to them had been boiled in a man's bonnet!

The plain house, in the style of the later eighteenth century, I remember inhabited by a much-respected physician, Dr. Stephen, who, through his grandmother, Ann, daughter of Sir Harry Innes of Innes, was

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[1] See Illustration No. 4.

[2] See Illustration No. 3.

not far off from being heir to the Dukedom of Roxburgh and its estates. The last house on the High Street was actually in possession, between 1709 and 1716, by one who was, if I may adapt the witches' prophecy to Banquo, "to get a duke if he was none." William Duff of Dipple was father of William, first Earl Fife, and ancestor of King Edward's son-in-law, the Duke of Fife. "Dipple," as he was called, made a fortune of £30,000 in Elgin, laying the foundation from which his descendants rose to their present eminence, and he made it as a produce merchant, importer, and banker. But Dipple did not live in his Elgin residence, which occupied the site of the building erected by the late Mr. Hay, cabinetmaker. It had been the town mansion of the Inneses of Coxton, and bore the star of their family and the date 1677. It was probably erected, says Mr. Young, by Sir Archibald Innes, Provost of Elgin in 1688, who two years before had been made a baronet by James VII. Coxton sold his estates to Dipple in 1710. But though Dipple did not live in the arcaded house, it belonged to him, and forms a link between the burgh and the noble family which traces to his enterprise the beginning of its riches and importance.

To another noble family, long the rivals of the Duffs for political preponderance in the county, we owe Grant Lodge. No part of the present building seems to be older than the eighteenth century, and its extensive grounds were obtained by the purchase and demolition of the Elgin mansions of the Earls and Marquesses of Huntly (afterwards Dukes of Gordon) and the Priors and Lairds of Pluscarden. But recent as it is, Grant Lodge has a romantic history. Over a disputed election in 1820, feeling ran so high that two members of the Town Council, Bailie Francis Taylor and Councillor Robert Dick, were abducted and carried across the Firth to Caithness: and Lady Ann Grant (Lord Seafield's sister), then residing at Grant Lodge, alarmed for her personal safety, despatched an express to Strathspey asking a guard of Highlanders. They came down to the number of 300, the future Field-Marshal, Sir Patrick Grant, being of the company. When the citizens heard of it, they armed themselves with bludgeons and sent out the Volunteers under Major Carmichael, while Lord Fife's tenantry gathered from his lands. An arrangement was come to: the Highlanders

were allowed to enter the grounds of Grant Lodge; but were locked in there, till Lady Ann, assured by the sheriff that she should be protected, sent them home again.

The Little Cross as we see it, is evidently, from its style, much later than the occasion of the erection of its original. A cross with a bell upon it, was erected here "at the place where the boundary of the [Cathedral] sanctuary commences on the side next the town," in 1402, by Alexander of the Isles as a token of penitence for his destructive foray. But though the present structure is more than three centuries later—its four-sided dial bears on its north face the date 1733—it is extremely graceful, and very characteristic of the art which in the preceding century had done so much for Elgin.

Greyfriars, like the Cathedral, would need a lecture to itself. It is by far the most instructive example, now to be seen in Scotland, of what a mediaeval friary was. It seems to have been founded, about 1479, by one of the Inneses of Innes: and to that family it reverted at the Reformation. It was not destroyed, though it was put to secular uses. After the Revolution however, it was a church again, Mr. King of Newmill, who had acquired it, giving it as a place of worship to the ejected Episcopalians: in it, about 1726, Bishop James Gadderar celebrated the Holy Communion and administered the rite of Confirmation.

No. II.

NOTES ON JACOBITE DRINKING GLASSES.

BY

REES PRICE, F.S.A.Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 17th November*, 1904.)

In the eighteenth century the social habits of the people were such that it became a common practice to place on drinking vessels, whether of glass or of earthenware, sentiments—patriotic, critical, or otherwise—commemorative of the various events of the century. Of glass vessels alone there has remained to us a comparatively large number of inscribed specimens of extreme interest, which, in a broad sense, form a historical panorama of the period.

In the collection of Glass Drinking Vessels formed during the last fifteen years by Mrs. Rees Price and myself there are several examples commemorating either a historical or patriotic event, or some sentiment or aspiration. Amongst these are the Jacobite glasses, which are exhibited to-night, together with others from the collection of Mr. Percy Bate, a member of this Society. There is also shewn an unique glass belonging to Dr. Robert Perry, Queen's Terrace, Glasgow.

Over the people of these islands the fortunes of the Stuart dynasty have exercised an extraordinary fascination, which in one direction at least has found an outlet in the amassing of relics, real or forged, such as personal ornaments, locks of hair, portraits, miniatures, lockets, badges, snuff-boxes, swords, pistols, and drinking vessels.

PLATE I.

Jacobite Drinking Glasses.

The enthusiasm of Scotland and the North of England for "Bonnie Prince Charlie" was founded possibly upon the charm of a gracious personality, and a belief in his inheritance of the Stuart spirit, intensified by his romantic misfortune. The closing years of the Prince were somewhat disappointingly commonplace, and at the death of George II. the Jacobite cause had become little more than a sentiment, and but a shadowy legend at the death of Prince Charles Edward in 1788. Yet to-day the quest for memorials of the Jacobite cult is perhaps even greater than in any previous time. This is evidenced in the high prices obtained at the recent sales in London, Edinburgh, and elsewhere.

For the better understanding of the descriptions of the glasses shewn to-night, it may be stated briefly that Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., in his classic book on *Old English Wine Glasses*, published in 1897, divides drinking vessels into groups, according to the shape of the bowl and the form of the stem. A glass is usually made in three pieces, namely, stem, bowl, and foot. Stems may be plain and solid, or may be plain with so-called tears in them. Or again, they may have air threads or opaque white threads running through them. These threads, by the manipulation of the craftsman, may assume a great variety of patterns. Lastly, there are the plain stems which have been cut and polished. Bowls may be bell-shaped, straight-sided, ogee, or double-ogee in shape. Or a bowl may be drawn from the stem of either a plain or air-stem, when it is designated as of "drawn" form.

Glasses of the 1715 *Rising.*—Those which have been recorded as being still in existence are very few in number. This might be expected from the historical effect of the first Rising, and from the state of glass-making in England at that date. In 1897 Mr. Hartshorne was able to record only six glasses of the "Crowned Cypher" type. I have added another to the list in the "Perry" glass, an old family possession. The peculiar feature of these glasses is that they bear the cypher "J.R.," with a crown above it—the cypher of the Chevalier St. George, proclaimed at St. Germain as King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. The looping work of the cypher, which is French in style, is so arranged that it might conceivably be understood as standing for "Georgius Rex." On

all of these glasses are inscribed two or more verses of a Jacobite paraphrase of the song beginning "God save great James our King," which Mr. Hartshorne tells us, was written by Bull at the time of the Gunpowder Plot. Clark, in his *Account of the National Anthem*, says that this song was adapted by Dr. Arne in 1745 for the Georgian National Anthem, and set to the music we now sing in "God save our Lord the King."

I here quote the four verses of the paraphrase:

God Save the King I pray,
God Bless the King I pray
God Save the King
Send him Victorious, Happy and Glorious
Soon to reign over us
God Save the King.

God Bliss the PRINCE OF WALES
The True-born Prince of Wales
Sent us by THEE
Grant us one favour more
The King for to restore
As Thou hast done before
THE FAMILIE.

God save the Church I pray
And bliss the Church I pray
Pure to remain
Against all Heresie
And Whigs Hypocrisie
Who strive maliciouslie
Her to defame.

God bliss the Subjects all
And save both great and small
In every Station
That will bring home the King
Who hath best right to reign
It is the only thing
Can save the Nation.

The "Perry" glass (fig. 2) is a plain-stemmed drawn glass 6¼ inches high, with a long tear in the stem. Etched on the bowl by a diamond point is the crowned cypher and the word AMEN below, surrounded with intricate scroll-work. If the scroll-work of the cypher be examined carefully, those so inclined may discover the figure 8, referring undoubtedly to

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

James VIII. of Scotland. The first and second verses of the song are engraved on the bowl. This engraving is of excellent workmanship. The present owner of the glass inherited it from his father, Dr. Robert Perry (born at Kilmarnock in 1783, died in Glasgow in 1848), to whom it was given by Mrs. Ferrier (*née* Garden of Croy, Killearn). She married Mr. Ferrier, a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, who got the glass from a cousin, General Stuart.

The glass (fig. 1), which is in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, has a four-sided shouldered stem with a tear in it. It is five inches high, and the bowl is engraved with the crowned cypher and two verses of the song. At the end of the first is inscribed "1716. AMEN," and at the end of the second verse, "1745." No doubt this was added later. The bowl is decorated with scroll-work, and is repaired. It was bought at Haddington in 1876.

An interesting glass, belonging to Mr. Stewart Marischal Keith-Douglas, has the crowned cypher and two verses of the song on the bowl. A third verse is inscribed on the foot. There is a dedication on the bowl "To his Royal Highness PRINCE HENRY Duke of Albany and York."

Col. Mesham (*vide* Hartshorne, p. 346) has a plain-stemmed drawn glass 8½ inches high, with a similar dedication and four verses of the song. It has also the crowned cypher, with "AMEN" in scroll-work under the cypher, and under this again is the date 1749, probably the date of the dedication.

Captain Murray Thriepland, Fingask, has a glass with a drawn-air stem. The bowl is engraved with the crowned cypher and two verses of the song. Two other cypher glasses are recorded by Mr. Hartshorne.

Two glasses both referring to the first Pretender are known, but they are quite different in character from the "Cypher" glasses. One is in the possession of the Dowager Lady Wynn, and the second is in the British Museum. The latter is a magnificent glass 8⅝ inches high, with an opaque twisted stem. The ogee bowl is engraved with a full-face bust of the Chevalier St. George, in a ring with wreaths of flowers on the right and left. Below the ring is the motto "COGNOSCUNT ME MEI." On the opposite side is a royal crown within a wreath, and under this the

motto "PREMIUM VIRTUTIS." This glass is illustrated in the book of Mr. Percy Bate on *English Table Glass.*

Glasses of the 1745 *Rising.*—These are more particularly commemorative of Prince Charles Edward, the young Pretender. The series exhibited is unique in its number and variety. All types of stems are indicated, and also those points which are of most interest in Jacobite glasses, viz. portraits, signs, badges, and mottoes.

In an age of clubs, those affected to the Jacobite cause may well have sought an outlet for their ardent convictions in meeting with kindred spirits, and in toasting together to the "King over the Water." From the conditions of their existence the history of Jacobite clubs is obscure, but there were clubs in Edinburgh and elsewhere in Scotland. The northern counties of England, and particularly Lancashire, where the loyalty of one of its towns gave birth to that intensely pathetic ballad, "Farewell, Manchester," were strongly Jacobite. Jacobite again were Cheshire—"the seed-plot of gentility," Northern Shropshire—"proud Salopia," Denbigh, and Flint. Indeed, the best authenticated Jacobite Cycle was founded at Wynnstay on the 10th of June, 1710, the anniversary of the birth of the Chevalier St. George, and the records of this club are continuous to 1864. The cycle word was "FIAT," a word familiar wherever the Jacobite cult existed. The ramifications of the cycle were extensive, "Fiat" glasses having been found as far south as Wiltshire. Most of our examples were obtained in Shropshire.

Of the decorations engraved on the Jacobite glasses of the 1745 Rising, the Rose and two buds and the Thistle are the most common. The Rose is the quasi-heraldic White Rose of the House of Stuart, with six petals. This was assumed as the badge of the House, in contra-distinction to the Tudor rose proper of five petals. The Rose and the two buds are said to be emblematical of James VII. of Scotland, and the Old and Young Pretenders. This decoration is usually found on the bowl.

A Star is also not infrequently engraved on the bowl. When drinking to the "King over the Water," as the glass was raised, the Star, held outwards, rose also.

An Oak leaf is also a frequent decoration, and its reference to the Stuart dynasty is obvious.

Jacobite Drinking Glasses. PLATE 3.

On one glass in our collection is engraved a spray of Forget-me-not. This is an unique specimen, so far as I know.

Of the mottoes and words, which are many and various, "FIAT" is the most frequent. Captain Murray Thriepland possesses two glasses, on which is inscribed the motto, "AUDENTIOR IBO." And two other glasses with this motto are known. Other mottoes are "RADIAT," which occurs on a glass in our collection; on one belonging to Mr. Percy Bate it is "REDEAT." Another, which is the property of Admiral Robertson Macdonald, bears "REVIRESCIT," while "REDDAS INCOLUMEN" occurs on a glass in the possession of Rev. W. W. Woolcombe. "AB OBICE MAJOR" is inscribed on a glass in the British Museum. The Virgilian motto, "TURNO TEMPUS ERIT," is found on other Jacobite glasses; and, lastly, on a glass at Balmoral, belonging to his Majesty the King, is inscribed the motto, "CUJUS EST CUIQUE SUUM REDDITE."

English mottoes occur, such as "REBEL NO MORE," "MAY THOU FLOURISH," "HEALTH TO ALL OUR FAST FRIENDS."

Portraits of Prince Charles Edward, either in profile or full face, are also found engraved on some six or more glasses.

In drinking to the "King over the Water" it was customary at the meetings of the Jacobite clubs to hold the glass over a bowl of water, and then raise it in pledge to the toast. Mr. Hartshorne tells us that in later years the members of the Cycle toasted the cause in true Highland fashion. He quotes the ballad of the "White Rose over the Water, 1744," from *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads, Jacobite Ballads*, by G. W. Thornbury, and I venture to think it worth reproducing here:

THE WHITE ROSE OVER THE WATER. 1744.

Then all leap'd up, and joined their hands
With hearty clasp and greeting,
The brimming cups, outstretched by all,
Over the wide bowl meeting.
"A health," they cried, "to witching eyes
Of Kate the landlord's daughter.
But don't forget the white, white rose
That grows best over the water."

. . . . . .

"But never forget the white, white rose
That grows best over the water."
Then hats flew up and swords sprang out,
And lusty rang the chorus—
"Never," they cried, "while Scots are Scots,
And the broad Frith's before us."

Jacobite Glasses of the 1745 *Rising belonging to Mrs. Rees Price.*

1. A large and extremely beautiful air-stemmed glass (fig. 5) 7¼ inches in height. The ogee bowl is engraved with a profile portrait of Prince Charles Edward, surrounded by a wreath of laurel, flanked with a six-petalled Rose and two buds, and the Thistle. On the opposite side are the Star and the word "FIAT." The last is an unusual motto on portrait glasses.

2. A glass (fig. 4), 8¼ inches high, with a double-knopped air-stem and a straight-sided bowl. On the bowl is engraved the Star and a seven-petalled Rose and two buds. The rose of seven petals is an unusual decoration, and is only known on one other Jacobite glass, which has on it a full-faced portrait of Prince Charlie, under the motto, "Audentior Ibo." On the foot of this glass is engraved a Thistle, with stem and two leaves.

3. A glass (fig. 7), 6⅜ inches high, with an air stem and a straight-sided bowl. On the bowl is engraved the Prince of Wales' feathers, and under these the word "RADIAT." On the opposite side are the royal arms of England and Scotland, quarterly.

4. A glass (fig. 12), 6 inches high, with a rib-twisted stem. The bowl is straight-sided, and is decorated with a six-petalled Rose and two buds, and an Oak leaf.

5. A glass (fig. 6), 6 inches high, with an air-stem and a straight-sided bowl. This is engraved with a spray of Forget-me-not and a Star above it. On the opposite side is a natural Rose and one bud.

6. A glass (fig. 9), 6 inches high, with a drawn air-stem. The bowl is inscribed with a Rose and two buds, a Star, an Oak leaf, and the cycle word "FIAT." (One of a pair.)

7. A glass (fig. 8), 6¾ inches high, with a drawn air-stem. The bowl is similarly decorated to No. 6, except that it has no Star. (One of four.) Glasses Nos. 7 and 8 were the ordinary glasses of the Jacobite Cycle.

Jacobite Drinking Glasses.

Fig. 10. Fig. 11. Fig. 12.

8. A glass, $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches high, with an opaque twisted stem and a straight-sided bowl, on which is enamelled in colours a full-faced bust of Prince Charlie.

9. A glass (fig. 11), $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with an air stem and a straight-sided bowl, on which is engraved a growing Vine. This may be an informal Jacobite relic.

10. A glass (fig. 10), $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, with an opaque twisted stem and an ogee bowl. The latter is engraved with a Rose and one bud, and a Thistle.

Jacobite Glasses of the 1745 *Rising exhibited by Mr. Percy Bate.*

1. A drawn air-stemmed glass, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, the bowl being engraved with the Rose and two buds, a Thistle, and the word "FIAT."

2. A drawn plain-stemmed glass, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with a tear in the stem. The bowl is engraved with the Rose and two buds, and a Star.

3. A drawn air-stemmed glass, $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, with the Rose and two buds, the Oak leaf, the Star, and the word "FIAT," engraved on the bowl.

4. A drawn air-stemmed glass, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, having on the bowl the Rose and two buds, the Oak leaf, and the Star.

5. A drawn air-stemmed glass, $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, with a collar on the stem. The bell-shaped bowl is engraved with the Rose and two buds, a Star, and the word "REDEAT" above.

6. A plain-stemmed glass, $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, with a straight-sided bowl, engraved with a natural Rose and one bud, duplicated. A six-petalled Rose is engraved on the under-side of the foot.

7. An air-stemmed glass, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, having engraved on the straight-sided bowl a Rose and Thistle.

On plate 1 is illustrated a plain-stemmed drawn glass (fig. 3), $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with a tear in the bowl. It is engraved with a triple-headed Thistle, crowned. Surrounding this is the motto, "REBEL NO MORE, AND MAY THOU FLOURISH." The glass is in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

No. III.

SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.

BY

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(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on* 15*th December*, 1904.)

WHEN, a year ago, your President and Council did me the honour of inviting me to read to you on some subject connected with our national history, I ventured to select a topic which has long interested myself. Ten years ago—I hope you will pardon a personal reminiscence—just after I had taken my degree at the University of Aberdeen, my friend, Mr. P. J. Anderson, no unworthy successor of a long line of famous students of the past who have been connected with the University of Aberdeen, turned my attention to this topic. At that time the University was approaching its quater-centenary in 1895, and being close upon the mature age of twenty-one, I was rash enough to offer the world in general an account of the history of that ancient Foundation. Recent advices from my Alma Mater assure me that her quater-centenary is still approaching, and that, by royal permission, it will occur in 1906. By what miracle the fulfilment of Milton's prophecy has been brought about I do not know, but

"Time *has* run back and brought the age of gold,"

and the newspapers inform us that, by a happy coincidence, the completion

of the new buildings at Marischal College in 1906 will occur simultaneously with the quater-centenary of King's College, which was founded in 1494-5.

But, indeed, my subject has claims upon our attention apart altogether from jubilees or centenaries. Since the Union of the Kingdoms in 1707, and more especially since the introduction of the railway systems between England and Scotland, three influences alone remain to differentiate us as a nation. We have adopted English dress and English food: our Southern neighbours have eagerly welcomed our drink. But the Scottish Church, Scots Law, and the Scottish Universities survive to remind us that we are not Englishmen, that we are even more than North Britons. I do not wish to compare these three influences, or to label them in order of importance. But of this I am convinced, that the deeper one looks into the question, the more one values the effect on Scottish history and Scottish character of our University system.

That system, like the Westminster Confession and the Shorter Catechism, is not indigenous, and unlike them it is, even in the last resort, in no sense Scottish. Our great merit, as I understand it, lies in our having preserved great traditions which were elsewhere abandoned, although such national modifications as we have made cannot, I think, be described as wholly satisfactory. Of the early days of the growth of Universities the Scottish historian has nothing to relate. The society of scholars or students, meeting for purposes of study and mutual help, which gradually assumed the meaningless title of Universitas, had long existed in England and on the Continent of Europe before we had such a society in Scotland. It had existed so long that, before the first Scottish University was founded, there were various types of University, from among which the pious founder could choose his model. Thus the Scottish Universities are not precise copies of any of the three typical Universities—Bologna, Paris, or Oxford. They belonged, on the whole, to the class known as the "Student Universities," but the powers of the undergraduate were, for his own good, very strictly limited. The rectorial election of to-day preserves the continuity of the Scottish Universities with the Student University, *i.e.* the University of the type of Bologna, where the students possessed powers that at Paris belonged to the masters alone. But the privileges of the

Scottish student were widely different from those of his predecessors at Bologna. Scotsmen were familiar with all the Universities of Europe, and they adopted various ideas from various sources. Thus from the very beginning the real authority lay with the masters, and soon they could even enforce it with that excellent instrument, the birch. Everywhere the freedom of the mediaeval undergraduate was gradually being replaced by the discipline which we associate with the schoolboy. This tendency may be traced in England in the various college statutes: it is most prominent in those of Brazenose College, founded in 1509; but it may be seen as early as the foundation of Queen's in the reign of Edward III. In Scotland it is not till the end of the fifteenth century that the student becomes really a schoolboy; but from the beginning he had very much less power than one might have expected from the general constitution of the University. A Universitas was at first a society of learned men, but there soon emerged a distinction between the learned teacher and the about-to-become-learned student. It is, I think, one of the main proofs of the doctrine of original sin that learned men will never teach without examining also. The love of examining and the ambition of being examined led to the whole system of graduation, for a master's degree is really a title to teach. This, then, was the University ideal as it appeared in Scotland in the fifteenth century. It was a society of students who were collected for the purpose of being taught, and this society soon came to be completely governed by the masters who were there for the purpose of teaching.

Of the subjects they taught I do not propose to say much here, although I shall have to refer to a similar question at a later stage, when the choice of subjects underwent a national and characteristic development. You will find information on the subject in the late Professor Veitch's articles in the second volume of the First Series of *Mind*, in the late Professor Bain's Rectorial Address to the students of Aberdeen, and elsewhere. It is sufficient to say here that the arts curriculum was on the ordinary mediaeval lines. The principal subjects belonged to Aristotle's theoretical and not to his practical class of studies, and were not included in the sacred seven liberal arts. The trivium, indeed, was taught, but its

subjects occupied a subordinate position, and scarcely any provision was made for the quadrivium. The teachers concerned themselves with the logic, ethics, metaphysics, and physics of Aristotle, and these were studied in Latin translations and in the commentaries of such authors as Porphyry and Petrus Hispanus.[1] The main point is the supremacy of the old Aristotle, the Aristotle of the schoolmen.

There are two important modifications of the University ideal, which if not national in origin (can any institution be called national in the Middle Ages?) is at all events characteristic of the system in Scotland. The first of these is the identification of the College with the University. This connection between the College and the University was no doubt the result of poverty. At St. Andrews the first foundation was that of a University alone; about twenty years later the founder gifted a lodging-house known as the Pedagogy, but no endowments for masters or scholars. The University had been in existence for over forty years before Bishop Kennedy's foundation of St. Salvator's College came into real existence. St. Leonard's followed in 1512, and the Pedagogy was replaced by St. Mary's in 1537. Thus we have at St. Andrews an attempt on a more ambitious scale than elsewhere in Scotland. From 1512 we have two Colleges, and from 1537 three. This number may be said, from one point of view, to have been reduced to two when St. Mary's was allotted to the Faculty of Theology in 1579, and the union of St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's in the eighteenth century removed almost the last traces of the experiment made in the fifteenth century. From the first it must have been evident that this experiment was a failure: endowments so scanty could ill afford to be distributed over two or three institutions. The founder of the University of Glasgow seems to have made no attempt at endowing a College. A Pedagogy or lodging-house was given in 1460, and this seems gradually to have grown into a College, by attracting to itself various pious donors. Thus partly by force of circumstances, and partly, no doubt, from an analogy with its younger sister, Aberdeen, the

[1] Cf. "Statuta Facultatis Artium Studii Glasguensis" in the *Evidence* of the Commission of 1826, ii. 286.

College and the University of Glasgow came to be indistinguishable. When we turn to Aberdeen, you will, I hope, pardon me for what may seem to you the vanity which the rest of the world are sometimes ready to ascribe to the citizens of that self-admiring town. But, indeed, it is in no spirit of local patriotism that I speak, although I am ready to admit that my words may bear some indication of the debt of personal gratitude that I, in common with so many, owe to William Elphinstone, and of the reverence in which I hold that illustrious and saintly name. We had not many saints in mediaeval Scotland, and we cannot afford to lose such holy memories as have come down to us. Nor is any apology necessary from him who in the city of Glasgow pays filial tribute to the noble Elphinstone, whom it is your glory to have trained here and to have sent forth to be the greatest of the long line of Bishops of our northern See, and, as a Scottish statesman and a Scottish patriot, to leave a memory which has never been touched by the breath of calumny: the Galahad of our mediaeval story.

It is to Aberdeen, as it seems to me, that we are to look for the typical or model Scottish University. Here the founder had to meet the same difficulties as at St. Andrews and at Glasgow, and he succeeded in solving them at once, instead of leaving them for time to settle. His generosity is in striking contrast to that of any other Scottish founder. "Silver and gold have I none," had been the confession of Wardlaw and of Turnbull; the later founders of Edinburgh and Marischal College were in the happier position of being able to give freely property which did not belong to them. Elphinstone alone provided munificently for a great home of education. Following the example of Bishop Kennedy, he erected a noble house, portions of which remain to prove that there were days when art was not despised in Scotland. Our ancient and honourable house of God, which our Founder builded, survives; not indeed in all the wealth of beauty which he lavished upon it, but still in dignity and grace. If the hand of man has been cruel, the hand of Nature has been kind, and has given to its stones that golden stain wherein, according to Mr. Ruskin, we are to look for the real light and colour and preciousness of architecture. Here, then, within a very few years of the date when that

notable servant of the servants of God, Pope Alexander VI., issued his Bull of Foundation, the infant University contained an endowed Society, possessed of a noble home. Let us look for a moment at the Society itself. The Bull of Foundation provides only for a society of masters and scholars which shall possess certain privileges. To this Elphinstone added a more definite Society, which was destined to be synonymous with, but might have been only a portion of, the Universitas—the Society first known as the College of Our Lady in the Nativity, familiar to later generations as King's College. This Society was, in the first place, a body of teachers, and this is a point on which I specially wish to lay stress. The Founder of the University of St. Andrews expected his new-made masters of arts to follow the ancient academic custom of teaching for two years after taking their degree, and the Founder of the University of Glasgow relied upon a similar constantly-shifting body of regent masters or teachers. Indeed, as far as I can make out from your documents—but here I am open to correction—the University of Glasgow appears to have had no or almost no professional teachers till we reach the date of the New Foundation after the Reformation. Bp. Kennedy's foundation at St. Andrews had introduced a certain modification there; but his College was on a very small scale. It provided for only thirteen members. Only one of the three Higher Faculties of Theology, Law and Medicine, was represented; that, of course, was Theology. The thirteen included six masters of arts, of whom two were to be annually appointed to teach. It is not clear whether the three members of the College who were to lecture on Theology were to lecture to the University or only to the members of the College. Elphinstone's larger foundation at Old Aberdeen was a great development of the College of St. Salvator. I lay stress upon three of its provisions:

1. Elphinstone first recognized that it was inevitable in Scotland that the College should be practically synonymous with the University, while he avoided the narrow view (which we find in Germany) which makes the College identical with the Faculty of Arts. The thirty-six members of his College may be thus enumerated:

(*a*) A Principal, a Master or Doctor in Theology.

(*b*) Eight representatives of the Superior Faculties: a Canonist, a Civilist, a Mediciner, and five students in Theology.

(*c*) Sixteen representatives of the Faculty of Arts: a Sub-principal, a Grammarian, and thirteen scholars or bursars.

(*d*) Twelve additional members, provided mainly for the services of the Collegiate Church: four choristers and eight prebendaries, the latter including the Precentor, the Sacrist, and the Organist.

It should be specially noted that while the teachers of Civil Law, Canon Law, and Medicine were as really members of the College as any others, paid out of its revenues, and sharing in its government, they were yet to live outside its walls. This provision I interpret thus: While Elphinstone realized that in so poor a country it was improbable that his University would ever contain more than one College, he did not wish to foreclose the possibility of the foundation of others, and he recognized that these, if they followed the example of St. Salvator's, would probably be inadequately equipped as regards the higher Faculties. He therefore left the Doctors in Law and Medicine more loosely connected with his College than the others. It would thus be easy for any future founder to regard them as University rather than as College officers, and to devote his scanty endowments to the more necessary training of students in Arts.

2. Elphinstone recognized that the senior members of his Foundation must be in the first place teachers. The endowment of pure scholarship might come afterwards; meanwhile Scotland required education. He could not therefore rely upon the spare time of men with the cure of souls, nor upon the two years that a new-made master might be induced to spend in the University. His teachers were to be professional teachers, with carefully defined duties, and with adequate endowment. This statement applies not only to the teachers in the higher faculties, but also to those in the Faculty of Arts. The Sub-principal and the Grammarian were permanent officials, and the regent masters were selected from the students in Theology. These students remained seven years in the University, and were, therefore, a moderately permanent body of teachers, although the income Elphinstone could offer was not sufficient to induce them to resist ultimately opportunities of ecclesiastical or other preferment.

3. Elphinstone deliberately modified the existing system in order to meet the special needs of Scotland. One problem of University education in the Middle Ages was the fact that youths assembled to hear lectures who were quite ignorant (or almost so) of the language which alone could lead to Humanity and the humaner learning. When all instruction was given in Latin, how could such students be provided for? The founder of the Society to which I have the honour to belong, William of Wykeham, had met this difficulty in a manner which entitles him to a great place in the history of English education. To secure that all the students of his College of St. Mary Winton in Oxford should be capable of pursuing their studies in the University, he had founded the College of St. Mary prope Winton, in the School attached to which all his Oxford scholars were to be educated. His example had been followed by King Henry VI. in the royal foundations of Eton, and King's College in Cambridge; it was soon to be followed by Cardinal Wolsey in his great conception of Ipswich and Cardinal College (now Christ Church) in Oxford. Had it been followed by William Elphinstone the history of Scottish education might have been altered: for good or evil who can say? But Elphinstone chose another, possibly because a cheaper way. He introduced into the Faculty of Arts a new permanent teacher known as the Grammarian. He is no mere teacher of Grammar, outside the precincts of the University. He is elevated to the status of an important member of the College, and he is to prepare Elphinstone's scholars for the higher learning which they have come to acquire.

Here, then, we have in Aberdeen, from its foundation, the three mediaeval characteristics which were destined to continue to be significant of the Scottish Universities almost, if not quite, down to our own day: the identification of the University and the College; the existence of the University as a society of endowed teachers with definite duties; the development of University studies in accordance with local and national needs. I do not claim for Elphinstone any wonderful originality. He had learned the lessons which a hundred years at St. Andrews and half that time at Glasgow had prepared for future founders, and he applied them in a form which subsequent founders imitated, and which older foundations came ultimately to adopt. On these three main ideas rests, I believe, the whole

structure of our University system, and to the lines which Elphinstone's foundation marked out, we owe the fact that our Universities have never ceased to be a great and effective power in the national life. The absence of the College system may be in some ways unfortunate; but it is because the unit of academic life has been the University and not the College, that the Scottish Universities have never become the Universities of a class. I do not, of course, refer to what is, from our present point of view, a mere detail—the question of collegiate residence. Personally, I deplore the fact that residence was a hundred years ago permitted to die out by professors who disliked the irksome labours of supervision and discipline. But it is not this that I mean by the College system. It is the division of endowments and the splitting up of teaching resources that constitutes the College system. I will meanwhile say nothing about that system beyond this, that it necessarily involves great expense. With the University as the unit, the amount of teaching necessary is very much smaller. The endowments are available for a small number of teachers. I will meanwhile say nothing about this system, beyond that it can be established at small cost. If education is to be national, it must be cheap. Had the Scottish Universities adopted the College system, they must either have become the homes of a small class of rich men, or, more probably, have died out.

Secondly, whatever the Scottish Universities may accomplish in other directions, they must remain, above everything else, teaching institutions. Whatever endowment may from time to time become available for pure scholarship or research, the Universities must remain, primarily, institutions possessing professional teachers, whose emoluments are sufficient to enable the University to choose really competent men, and sufficient to render it possible for the Professor to employ his whole time in increasing his efficiency as a teacher. There is, in Scotland, a real demand for teaching, and the Scottish Universities can never live by learning alone.

Thirdly, the Scottish Universities must continue to adapt themselves to local and national needs. In the teaching of medicine and science there is, I suppose, nothing local and national. But it must be frankly admitted that a large part of the work of the Universities is to train Scottish clergy and Scottish schoolmasters. Here the object is national

and the Universities must be prepared not to imitate methods characteristically English or characteristically German, but to adapt themselves to the ever-changing requirements of modern Scotland.

Please do not misunderstand me. I am well aware that every system labours under the defects of its qualities. I should much like to see introduced for the benefit of the Scottish Honours man something of the individual tuition which plays, I think, some part in the intellectual development of his English contemporary. I am glad to know that a beginning has been made in this way, and I think that much more might be done: not by laying fresh burdens on the Professor, but by employing the already existing office of his assistant, or by adding an assistant who would act as tutor of the Honours men. A very small expenditure might thus combine the advantages of both systems. I do not suggest confining the attention of the Professor to Honours students, nor should I suggest increasing his number of Honours Lectures or asking him to give up any portion of his Pass Lectures in order to give private tuition to Honours men. He would, of course, superintend the work of his assistant or tutor, and this department of work would always bear the impress of his individuality. I must not be regarded as undervaluing the needs of the Honours man if I lay stress on the merits of the professorial system in other respects. In Scotland we have no absolute distinction between Pass men and Honours men. The Professor first meets his Honours man as a Pass man: it is frequently the Professor who converts him into an Honours man. The impress which a Professor may make on a whole class, the inspiration which he may convey to individuals, are among the most notable advantages of our system. Believing as I do that the burden of history is ever upon us, that we can never release ourselves from our past, I simply take this opportunity of pointing out that the theory that the duty of the Professor is primarily, though not by any means solely, towards the Pass man, lies deep in our academic traditions. We may agree that the time has come for modifications of this theory; but we must make these modifications with open eyes, and understanding how fundamental is the system we seek to change. Pardon what is in some respects a digression. I will say only a very few words

to safeguard myself from misunderstanding on the other two points. I am quite willing to admit every reasonable claim of research, and when I say that teaching is and has ever been the first duty of the Scottish Universities, I am not to be understood as seeking to belittle scholarship or research of any kind. But it must always be subordinate to the work of teaching. Lastly, I agree that we may have much to learn from England, from France, from Germany, or from America, but let us never forget to adapt what we learn to our national needs. These seem to me to be the lessons of our mediaeval academic history.

I pass from pre-Reformation times to those that followed that great struggle in which so much that was good perished along with so much that was evil. Two great characteristics seem to me to mark our academic history from the Reformation to our own day. The first is the continuous development upon local and national lines, a development which has been somewhat checked in the course of the nineteenth century. The second, and more important, is the loss of freedom, which is one result of sixteenth and seventeenth century controversies. With each of these I propose to deal in turn.

Like the Scottish Reformation itself, the reorganisation of the Universities came late, and came thorough. The Universities were regarded as the homes of the lost cause of Romanism: even those of the teachers who were prepared to subscribe to the reformed faith were unwilling to part with their educational traditions. The Papacy may fall: we may soon look upon many scenes where

> "The vaulted roof is fallen,
> And the bat and owl repose,
> Where once the people knelt them
> And the high *Te Deum* rose."

But shall Aristotle be deposed? Scotland was indeed the last ditch of the older Aristotelian tradition, the Aristotle of the schoolmen. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Humanism had found a place in the statutes of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, and in those of Christ's College and St. John's in Cambridge, and the new love of literature had soon led to a contempt for the ancient philosophical studies, a contempt

which at one time threatened to involve the English Universities in the dissolution of the monasteries. There had come a day when the leaves of Duns Scotus—the "dunce" of Thomas Cromwell's commissioners—were thrown to the winds in the great quadrangle of New College, and, as they were blown here and there, impressed deeply upon the mind of at least one onlooker the mutability of things human. Aristotle, of course, was not wholly neglected, but the mediaeval commentators were disregarded. Plato found, for the first time, a worthy place in the minds of Englishmen. The new controversies about religion drove men to the study of Hebrew, while Physics and Mathematics, released from bondage to Aristotle, attracted eager students, who prepared the way for the great advance of the next century.

The leaders of the Knoxian Reformation knew well the history of contemporary thought in England and on the Continent, and as early as 1562 they attempted, in the First Book of Discipline, to bring Scotland into line. The changes were drastic enough, but for a variety of reasons they were simply ignored in all three Universities. The Autobiography and Diary of James Melville shows us how absolute was the failure at St. Andrews; at Glasgow the reactionary party went so far as to obtain from the municipality a New Foundation which restored the old conditions; and the University of Aberdeen remained Roman Catholic till 1569, and not till long after that did it acknowledge the error of its intellectual ways.

The work was accomplished by the intervention of one man, to the record of whose methods I shall have to draw your attention for a little. To Andrew Melville, and to him alone, was due the reorganisation of the curriculum in every Scottish University. We have all read in his nephew's delightful Diary the story of his work in Glasgow and in St. Andrews. His personal friendship with Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of King's College and University, brought about the introduction of a Nova Fundatio at Aberdeen. Round this document many controversies raged; it is much too long a story to repeat now. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that Melville's personal interposition to some extent brought King's College into line with the new ideas. It is perhaps even more important that

the failure of the Nova Fundatio to produce a sweeping change brought about the foundation of a new University, the Marischal College of Aberdeen, where Dugald Dalgetty studied the way of logical ratiocination, and where he learned (as Andrew Melville would have taught him) to uphold the mass as an act of blinded papistry and utter idolatry. George, fifth Earl Marischal, had been a member of an Aberdeen University Commission, which like so many other Commissions failed to effect its purpose, and let the matter drop. Baulked in his desire to remodel Elphinstone's foundation, the Earl retorted by setting up a new University a mile away. Marischal College was thus the Daughter of Discord: she has been the fruitful Mother of Discord ever since: a fruitful mother also of famous sons.

You may remember how Carlyle gave thanks to God and this Keith for that Aberdonians have ever since been able to cultivate the muses on a little oatmeal. It is certainly an instance of gratitude for small mercies, for never was there a more economical Pious Founder than the Earl Marischal. Mindful of his children's patrimony, he obtained from the King and the Town Council of Aberdeen buildings and lands which were neither his nor theirs, and the property of the Franciscans and the Carmelites provided a scanty endowment for the new University. He seems to have given no personal gift, not even from the church lands which he, along with his brother-robbers, had seized during the great spoliation. The foundation remained poor: you will recollect Dugald Dalgetty's explanation when asked why he ate so fast: "That quality he had acquired while he filled a place at the bursar's table at the Marischal College of Aberdeen, where," said he, "if you did not move your jaws as fast as a pair of castanets, you were very unlikely to get anything to put between them." Of course, it was a great moral victory for Marischal and the Melville party generally. They had secured a great triumph by annoying the Aberdeen Conservatives, and who will deny that a triumph on the cheap is a triumph doubly dear?

Nine years before the foundation of Marischal College, a richer and greater foundation had been made in Edinburgh. It was natural that the new University of Edinburgh should represent the new tendencies, and a

friend and associate of Melville, Robert Rollock, was accordingly entrusted with its organization. Thus, with the partial exception of King's College, the stamp of Melville was, by the middle of the last decade of the 16th century, upon all five Scottish Universities. The work of Melville had three main features:—

1. It was not really Humanistic. Languages were but handmaidens to theology. It was of course nearer to Humanism than were the old studies, and contemporaneous with Melville's changes was the real Humanistic influence of George Buchanan.

2. It was marked by a profound distrust of philosophy. When Melville returned to St. Andrews in 1585, after a temporary banishment, he found that Bishop Adamson had altered the studies, "and turned from Theology to Philosophy" *ab equis ad asinos.* This tendency was gradual and did not reach its full development until after Melville's death.

3. The whole system aimed at producing Presbyterian clergy: for the new system was identified with the Presbyterian contention. The circumstances of the time, and the uncompromising attitude of Melville, forced the Episcopal party to become the defenders of the old learning. How complete this identification was may be understood from the famous incident of the visit of Du Bartas to the University of St. Andrews, when Andrew Melville behaved with quite unpardonable rudeness to King James. It is the beginning of the tendency of the Scottish Universities to become unnecessarily national in their character and local in their aim. Edinburgh and Marischal Colleges were founded as town's colleges, and Glasgow of its own free will became one. The "town's Colledge"—can any phrase better express the entire abandonment of the ancient University ideal? In saying this, I am not to be understood as condemning the system *in toto.* This was its great defect: it had many merits. It was effective, and in many ways it was enlightened. Melville attempted, for example, to abolish the evil custom of each regent conducting his class through all the years and all the subjects of its curriculum. This soul-destroying system was unfortunately restored in the 17th century and lasted (though not everywhere) till the 19th.

The Melvillian capture of the Universities proved to be only a

temporary success, and the party which held the Melvillian traditions never again really held the Universities except during short periods of actual conflict. The stamp of Melville's work was never removed, but almost all the future developments proceeded on other lines than his. The change began considerably before his death. The Union of the Crowns, which brought about the victory of the party opposed to Melville, placed in the Universities a new type of men who cared for the humane learning for its own sake, who, when they did apply it to theology, found that it led them to other conclusions than his, and who shared neither his distrust of philosophy in general nor his contempt for the old philosophical studies. Thus, we find that the period of the first Episcopalian supremacy is the Augustan period of Scottish scholarship, the golden age of the humane letters. The Universities were filled with Latin poets and divines learned in the learning of the Fathers. These men followed generally the lines of the Melvillian educational reform, but their aim was different from his. In some respects they were behind him—*e.g.* they restored the pernicious system of each regent's teaching every subject. As the Scottish historian will naturally anticipate, these influences were strongest in Aberdeen, where the old Foundation of King's College was actually restored, and the University once more possessed a Canonist and a Mediciner. It is easy to understand why the Melvillian party regarded a professor of canon law as an unnecessary luxury. But had the Reformation dispensed with the necessity for medicine? With the victory of the Presbyterian party in 1638, there came an end to this Humanistic movement. The Augustan scholars were, by accident or by nature, supporters of the modified Episcopacy which Archbishop Laud insisted upon destroying, and classical scholarships to some extent shared the evil reputation of patristic learning. "Downe with learning, and uppe with Christ," shouted the more extreme Covenanting divines. The Melvillian régime which followed the Revolution of 1638 was short-lived, and Melville, whatever he might have thought of his pupils' ecclesiastical and political attitude, would assuredly have disowned their educational theory.

You will remember how a great Scottish scholar used to say, when Cockburn was his pupil, "But for the Solemn League and Covenant we

should hae kenned the langs and the shorts as well as the English." In their horror of the Humanistic peril, the new reformers fell back upon an old heresy of their opponents, the tendency to resort to the older learning. In this respect John Forbes and Arthur Johnston were the real representatives of the educational ideals of Melville: his children according to the flesh (if I may so describe his spiritual followers) went over educationally to his enemies. This must not be taken quite literally; but it is approximately true. Under the new system classical literature is not ignored. The students of the first year are to learn the very dull grammatical works of Nicholas Cleynart (Clenardus) and the *Praxis* of Antesignanus, but this is to lead them, not to the profane poets, but to respectable orators like Demosthenes and Isocrates. One book of Homer is graciously permitted. The second year are to study the *Dialectics* of Andrew Melville's friend, Peter Ramus, but along with this we have a return to Porphyry and Aristotle, and the studies of the third and fourth years are almost entirely in the mediaeval philosophy, including (what is almost inconceivable) the *Physics* of Aristotle.

To Melvillian succeeded Cromwellian, and the Universities gained by the change. The Presbyterianism of the Solemn League and Covenant was very narrow and very local, and any change was sure to be good. The curriculum widens a little: French is to be used in conversation as well as Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Stress is laid upon the teaching of Hebrew, which seems to have been forgotten, and more definite and, let us hope, more recent physical science is introduced in the shape of optics and astronomy, in addition to the older chronology and the use of the globes. This kind of thing continued throughout the second period of Episcopalian supremacy. The Revolution of 1689 did not represent the victory of the Melvillian section of the re-Established Church, and I cannot find that there was much change in the University system. We know from the records of the Fifteen that the teachers remained in many cases Episcopalian and Jacobite, and after the Fifteen, although there is a great change of personnel there is little change in ideas. We usually say that the eighteenth century was not a time for ideas. Perhaps so, but this side of eighteenth century life has been unduly accentuated, and we do

find in this connection some distinct advance, *e.g.* the appointment of separate professors to teach Greek. But the great advance comes later. It is again a reaction from the older philosophy, but a reaction different from that led by Melville, for its leading supporters are the moderate or Erastian churchmen of whom Melville would most strongly have disapproved. This is the period of the Scottish philosophy, of Hutcheson, of Adam Smith, Hume, Reid, George Campbell, and Beattie; of Principal Robertson and Lord Kames, of Blair and finally of Dugald Stewart. Into this tempting field I cannot now enter. My duty is simply to point out that the Universities shared in and met the national demand for philosophical discussion, brought about by the general reawakening of interest which marked the time. They even recognized at an early stage that this as yet incipient demand necessitated a readjustment of the curriculum. Natural science and mathematics were therefore given a place before philosophical study in a man's course, and almost everywhere the regenting system was abolished, and special subjects were assigned to special professors.

It would perhaps be fanciful to attribute the increased interest in scholarship and languages which marked the early eighteenth century to the evangelical revival which distrusted the "cauld morality" of the moderate philosophers; perhaps it is more naturally associated with the general widening of intellectual interest and the improvement in teaching which we can trace in all the Universities of the country, and which awakened Oxford from the profound slumber in which she was wrapped, while the Universities of Scotland had been alive, not perhaps with singing birds, but with the melodious discords of antagonistic philosophers. I must not enter upon the thorny path of the history of successive nineteenth century commissions. Amid all the evil they did, we must recognize that they checked the over-development of the tendency for the Scottish Universities to remain purely local and national. I do not say that all they introduced was good; but it was certainly good for us to receive ideas from outside. There is another point on which one can only touch here. No one who knows the history of the Scottish Universities can deny that, for many years, the appointments to University Chairs were

the perquisites of certain families, or, at least, that there was a tendency towards this. It was a tendency not wholly unjustifiable by the facts of the case. The most notorious instance of all—that of the Gregories—is not hard to defend. But one could quote other instances in which a defence is more difficult, and it has been good for us also to receive teachers from outside.

Lastly, I must say a few words upon the tendency, since the Reformation, for the Universities to lose all autonomy—a tendency which, alas! has never been checked. Before the Reformation the Scottish Universities were free from everything but the pressure of mediaeval thought; had that pressure been removed spontaneously, all might have been well. But the University reformer is even less patient than other reformers; truth is great, no doubt, but it will not prevail unless he forces people to accept it. This, at all events, was the view of the Scottish Reformers, and they appealed to the one power that could help them—the General Assembly. In Glasgow the Academic Conservatives repeated the error of their opponents, and won a short-lived victory by an appeal to the municipality. In a few years the Assembly made a more effective attempt, and the Universities were under the control of the Assembly until the Revolution of 1688, except during the periods of Episcopalian rule. Nor was this interference really successful, even when it was supported by the Scottish Parliament. At Glasgow and at St. Andrews, as we have seen, the work was really accomplished by the personality of Melville, and by the conviction he brought to men's minds. At Edinburgh there was, of course, no struggle. At Aberdeen the attempt to make the University humanistic by Acts of Parliament and Assembly resulted in a struggle which paralyzed the energies of the University for over 50 years, and which was only terminated by the Great Rebellion. Had the supporters of the new learning been content to rely on the strength of their cause, had they devoted their attentions to convincing the younger generation, their scheme of academic teaching would, as in St. Andrews and Glasgow, have been victorious in a few years, irrespectively of the problems in Church and State which were troubling men's minds.

The characteristic evil of State interference in Scotland has been the

sacrifice of efficiency on the shrine of uniformity. I need scarcely point out that uniformity is not less a seventeenth century than a nineteenth century ideal; the blessed word which led this unfortunate country into the struggles of the Solemn League as it led the Liberals of the middle of the Victorian period to the sterilization of their own reforms. As early as 1642 the Commissioners of the General Assembly ordered that "in all the philosophie Colleges of the Universities there be a uniform course of doctrine, government and discipline." This ideal survived the troubles of the forties and fifties, and it re-appears after the Revolution in the absurd attempt of the Commission of 1695 to establish a complete cursus philosophicus for all the five Universities, which aimed at abolishing lecture and note-taking by printing a complete and final system of philosophy. In sympathy with this attempt was the view that restricted all teaching to the staff of regents and professors, a view which found support in a Privy Council edict, which made it rebellion to teach Greek in private. The history of the eighteenth century affords a welcome contrast to that of the seventeenth. The period of control of the Assembly was over: that of Parliament had not commenced in earnest. The State was content if the Universities were not Jacobite. There are instances of interference. The Town Council of Edinburgh forced the Universities to replace the regents and professors in 1708: a Royal visitation did the same thing in Glasgow in 1727. But these are exceptional interventions. During this period of non-intrusion, when the Scottish Universities were left to their own devices, we find a great revival of intellectual interest. It is not merely that the Universities produced their greatest thinkers: not only was it that Scotland gave an impetus to European thought, while Scots professors were free from a uniform code. The problem of teaching was not forgotten. The great men who rendered memorable that famous epoch were not unmindful that the first duty of a Scots professor is to teach. The curriculum, as we have said, was revised by the Universities themselves, and the last relics of the long mediaeval bondage were removed. There was no teaching in Great Britain which could be compared to that by the Scottish Universities about 1760.

If the glory of the later decades of the eighteenth century was not

maintained, yet we can point to an honourable record even after the genius of Reid and Adam Smith had departed. The Universities continued to make improvement after improvement, and while Oxford and Cambridge were still in their eighteenth century slumber, and the voice of science was unheard in their halls, the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen were engaged in the creation of medical schools which were sure to earn a reputation far beyond the limit of these islands. With the period of the Reform Bill there fell again the shadow of State interference, culminating in the great Commission of 1858, which drew up an almost uniform scheme of administration and organization for the four Universities. It was this Commission which united the two Universities of Aberdeen, and made the united University precisely similar to the single foundations of Glasgow and Edinburgh in defiance of a strong local feeling for the preservation of the distinctive and historical feature of two Colleges. To give permission to Aberdeen to try an experiment not precisely the same as the other Universities were being forced to try was a ludicrous and impossible suggestion. Of these Ordinances of 1858 I cannot now speak. They have not been without good results, and their admirers may honestly claim for them the credit of some of these: others we venture to think are more directly due to the men who worked them and who sometimes ignored them.

The time has not yet come—I hope it will soon arrive—when it will be relevant to the work of an Archaeological Society to study the Ordinances of the Commission of 1889. Of the Commissioners I wish to speak with all possible respect, and it would be absurd and ungrateful to deny that their scheme embodies many excellent conceptions. My objection to it is not a matter of detail. Do you recollect the words spoken by Sir John Gorst to the Educational Section of the British Association in this city in 1901? "It must not be forgotten," he said, "that a national system of education has its drawbacks as well as its advantages. The most fatal danger is the tendency of public instruction to suppress or absorb all other agencies, however long established, however excellent their work, and to substitute one uniform mechanical system, destructive alike to present life and future progress. In our country, where there are public schools of

the highest repute, carried on for the most part under ancient endowments, and Universities entirely independent of the Government, there is reasonable hope that with proper care this peril may be escaped."

Sir John Gorst forgot that he was speaking north of the Tweed, in a country where Universities are not independent of the State. No scheme of any Commission can possibly be satisfactory so long as it is uniform. Personally, I am inclined to distrust any such scheme, because it must be, at the best, a mere compromise between opposing views of various Commissioners. But this particular scheme is logical and uniform, and it ignores local conditions and individual needs: it is an experiment, based partly on English and partly on German experience, and an experiment which all four Universities are forced to try at the same time; and it is, finally, an experiment which cannot be altered except by an appallingly cumbrous machinery. What we need is Autonomy. The State may regulate financial conditions and define the appropriation of its own meagre grants, but the internal organization should be within the powers of the University itself, for each University is the best guardian of its own interests and of its own honour.

For myself, I am sufficiently antiquated to distrust the nineteenth century theory, that the only men who can govern great Public Schools and Universities, are those who either know nothing about them or are too busy to attend to them, and I should therefore advocate the grant of new powers rather to the Senatus than to the Court. But I do not press this point. My protest is against an ideal of absolute uniformity. We do not want it, and, in spite of the Commission, we do not now possess it, nor can we until the Scottish Professor has been turned into the automatic machine that the old code threatened to make of the elementary schoolmaster. Till then, professorial individuality will do something to save us from the last extremity of our mechanical system, destructive alike to present life and future progress. But no scheme of reform will be satisfactory which does not assume the individuality of the University as well as of the Professor. This freedom may cost us a large price, but it is the essential and indispensable condition of progress.

No. IV.

THE SARACEN'S HEAD INN.

BY

THOMAS LUGTON.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society on 19th January*, 1905.)

So much has been written about the famous old Glasgow inn, the Saracen's Head, that the only excuse for this paper is that the edifice is about to be demolished to make room for new buildings.[1] The more interesting parts of this story have been told in *Glasgow Past and Present*, *Glasghu Facies*, *Dowhill's Land*, in the *Publications of the Regality Club*, and in Mr. Renwick's notes on *Glasgow Protocols*, and while it is hardly possible to avoid repetition, an attempt will be made to deal with new points of interest.

The inn and stable-yard buildings were built on the north side of the Gallowgate on what had been the pre-Reformation Churchyard of Little St. Mungo and the patch of waste ground adjoining it on the north that surrounded one of the ancient holy wells. The inn was built without the ancient East Port of Glasgow, which, from meagre descriptions, appears to have been a battlemented archway crossing the Gallowgate from North to South with heavy nail-studded oak doors in the centre of the arch.

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[1] Since this paper was read to the Society the demolition of the Inn has taken place, and the paper has in consequence been partially recast.

The port was about 12 feet in width and occupied the space now covered by the shop, 183 Gallowgate, on the north side of the street, and a corresponding width on the south side extending from the west wall of close, No. 184.

The East Port was demolished in 1754, for an entry in the Council Record of 22nd November in that year states that Robert Tennent[1] of the White Hart Inn, Gallowgate, received permission "to pull down the East Port and to take the stones thereof for his own use" in erecting a commodious new inn, the Saracen's Head, on a site immediately without the port, on the north side of the street. The plots of ground on which the inn and yard buildings were to be erected had formed part of the small estate of Dowhill or Dovehill,[2] which, according to the Kentigern Legend, was miraculously uplifted to enable the converts of St. Mungo to see the aged saint on his return from Wales.

The lands of Dovehill were bounded by the College grounds and the

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[1] At the meeting at which this paper was read, the Chairman, Mr. Dalrymple, recommended me to investigate a statement made during the discussion by Mr. John H. Jackson, one of the oldest members of the Old Glasgow Club, to the effect that his maternal ancestor another Robert Tennent, one of the chief "Tobacco-lords" in Glasgow during the second half of the eighteenth century, had had much to do with the prosperity of the Saracen's Head, and had indeed at one time owned the inn. From subsequent conversation with Mr. Jackson, I gathered that this Tennent had not owned the inn, but, on the death of the first proprietor, had rendered important financial assistance to his widow, while his own wife, who was an excellent amateur cook, for some time superintended the culinary department at the inn. With this double assistance the reputation and prosperity of the Saracen's Head were re-established.

[2] The meaning of the name Dovehill, Doohill, or Dowhill, the *mons columbarum* of an old charter has been guessed at. It is said to have been derived from wood pigeons cooing in St. Kentigern's trees which grew in and about the old burial ground. Dewhill and Dhuhill have also been mentioned. Another explanation may be that the round grain-stack-shaped dovecots of Scotland were frequently placed on little eminences at some distance from dwelling houses, and the mediaeval churchman of Glasgow with memories of Cathedral fires may have discouraged pigeons from filling up boles and steepleheads with nesting twigs. Protocol books show that there were two barns on the Dovehill, and it is known that there were two on Merkdailey and one on the Burnt Land, and all perhaps within a stone's throw of each other. If the tithe barns stood in the vicinity of the East Port, that was perhaps the most suitable place in the town for the erection of stone dovecots,

Gallowgate on the north and south, by the Molendinar Burn at the Spoutmouth and the Butts or old Barrack ground on the west and east. The lands were feued in 1581 by Archbishop Beaton with consent of the Chapter to John Reid for an annual payment of 6s., and at a later period were in the possession of a family of Andersons, one of which was Provost of Glasgow in the eighteenth century. On his death the Dovehill was divided between his daughters, Marion (Mrs. Moore), and Barbara (Mrs. Fogo of Killorn). Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna, was the grandson of Marion Anderson, and the late Rev. Robert Thomson of Ladywell claimed descent from the Andersons of Dovehill.

In pre-Reformation times David Cunningham, Archdeacon of Argyle and Official of Glasgow, founded a chaplainry in a church erected near the Molendinar Burn and the trees called St. Kentigern's. From diocesan registers of 1504, Cunningham, acting as vicar-general during Archbishop Robert Blackadder's absence, required John Gibson, rector of Renfrew, as Master of Work, to expend money in payment for small things about the church of Little St. Mungo, as the previous Masters of Work had done. In September, 1513, a new chaplain was appointed by delivery of bell rope, book, chalice and ornaments of the altar. After the Reformation, the endowments, along with the church property and revenues, were conveyed by Queen Mary's charter to the town and afterwards to the college. Towards the end of the sixteenth century Archibald Lyon acquired the kirk and kirkyard of Little St. Mungo. On the 19th May, 1593, this property was sold by Donald Cunningham of Aitkenbar, husband of Marion Lyon, to the town for 200 merks (Scot).[1]

The hospital mentioned in Note 1 is referred to in a Session Record but it was soon abandoned, and in February, 1600, the Town Council

[1] The description is as follows:

"The Chapell and hows callit St. Mungo's chaplanrie with kirk yaird and pertinents thereof, lyand on the east side of the toune of Glasgow, beyond the Gallowgait, betwixt the lands of doohill on the north and the High Street on the east parts. The Chapel hows and yaird to be convertit into ane hospital for the puir to be foundit by the said provost, bailies and council, and to na uther use in tyme coming. At the same tyme the trees baith growand and cuttit about and in the same" were to be put to the use of the hospital.

ordered the "hail materials of stane, tymmer and growand trees of Little St. Mungo's Kirk to be taken down and removed and used for the repair of the Tron Kirk," and the site to be feued to the highest bidder. In 1754 the Council sold the kirkyard site to Robert Tennent, for the erection of the Saracen's Head.

The dimensions of the Little St. Mungo's kirkyard were 156 feet in length, or from the west side of Great Dovehill Street to the east side of Saracen Lane. At the west end the yard was 52 feet wide—at the east 54½ feet wide. The description in part reads "old yard or burying place called Little St. Mungo lying immediately without and next adjacent to the place where the Gallowgate or East Port of Glasgow, lately taken down was situated. The land is bounded on the south by the High Street, leading from the said port to Camlachie." Tennent's new building is described as "a great inn built all of hewn stone extending in length in front to 100 feet or thereby, consisting of three storeys in height, slate roofed with office houses and pertinents." The boundaries of the kirkyard were stated in the conveyance to be on the west "lands of William Craig," on the east "lands of John Thomson," and on the north "lands called Dowhill." The width of the old churchyard, 52 feet at the west end and 54½ feet at the east, was surely a very narrow plot for a burial ground and a site for a chapel, but a paragraph under the heading "Minor Antiquities" in "Glasgow Delineated" (1821), may clear up this point. It is there stated that the burial ground of Little St. Mungo had formerly extended nearly half way across the street. On the taking down of the East Port in 1754 the projecting part of the churchyard may have been cut off to continue the building line uniform with that on the west side of the Port. The yard granted by the town's conveyance to Robert Tennent in 1755 may have referred only to the burial ground then existing with its southern boundary wall removed.

The name of the new inn may have been derived from the ancient "Saracen's Head" on Snowhill, London, near St. Sepulchre's Church; a tavern which stood till about 1850, and had been named in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whese maternal grandfather had been a Saracen.

In the advertisement of the opening of the Saracen's Head public attention was called to the fact that "the bedrooms were all separate, none of them entering through another, and so contrived that there is no need of going out of doors to get to them." This was a departure from the old inns on the courtyard plan, such as "The George," recently taken down in the Borough, London. The passage from which the Saracen's Head rooms were entered extended lengthways through the centre of the building on every floor. The front entrance in the middle of the building led into a hall, at the end of which a guest had access to the round projecting staircase at the back, which led to the two upper floors. The only part of the Saracen's Head which was intact until the recent demolition, and in much the same condition as when used for public assemblies, was the ballroom, to which there was an entrance both from the inn and from Great Dovehill Street.[1]

This room was 40 feet long, 24 feet wide, and 18 feet high to the domed ceiling. An arched alcove, 14 feet high, for a pedestal and bust occupied the middle of the north wall, on each side of which were the remains of wide doorways subsequently built up. Formerly these doors led to the stable yard and to Great Dovehill Street or Lane, where Sedan chairs were lined up on assembly nights, more than a century ago. At the other end of the ballroom were two wide doors of corresponding width leading into the anteroom, which separated the inn proper from the assembly or ballroom. In the centre of the south wall of the anteroom was another wide door, similar to the others, through which ladies wearing hoop skirts could pass into the inn without inconvenience. The interior

[1] The ballroom had been latterly in regular use as a place of worship by the Universalists and other small religious denominations. It was also used as a day school for many years, the last teacher being Mr. Alexander Fisher, who gave up teaching about 1872. During the last forty years the ballroom was used as a mission hall on Sundays and occasionally on week nights by the East Campbell Street U.F. congregation. In the month of October, 1904, the Old Glasgow Club held a meeting within its walls, at which speeches on the subject of the old inn and kindred topics were delivered by Dr. Erskine, Rev. Dr. Somerville, Mr. William George Black, F.S.A. Scot., who represented the Glasgow Archæological Society, and Mr. C. J. Anderson, who now owns the property.

of the centre part and side wings of the great inn had been so much altered to suit small tenants that no rooms in their original condition were visible at the demolition, but the "magistrates room," in the middle of the building on the second floor, with its domed ceiling, could still be easily traced. No wainscoting, fireplaces, nor wood work of any kind remained worthy of preservation. The room in which Dr. Johnson put his heels on each side of the grate and said, "Here I am an Englishman seated by a coal fire," is said to have been the front public room in the west wing at the corner of Great Dovehill Lane, which had been occupied as a draper's shop for the last 70 years by the late Mr. George Crewden, and latterly by his son Mr. John Crewden.

A more curiously constructed building than the Saracen's Head Inn was perhaps never erected in Glasgow. At its demolition it was found that its walls had no sunk foundations; they were literally built from the ground up, and, when the building was being pulled down, a large portion of the front wall facilitated the work of the house wreckers by falling of its own accord. With the exception of the sills, jambs, and lintels of the windows, almost every stone of the Saracen's Head had been old material reused. Not less than a cartload of interesting moulded stones was taken from the *débris*, and from them might have been constructed a rockery, similar to that at Gallowflat, which has been the means of preserving a number of very interesting carved stones from old Rutherglen Castle. All the varieties of the moulded stones found at the demolition have been drawn by Mr. T. L. Watson, architect of the new buildings that now stand upon the site of the Saracen's Head Inn. With one exception, there were several examples of each stone represented in the drawings reproduced here.

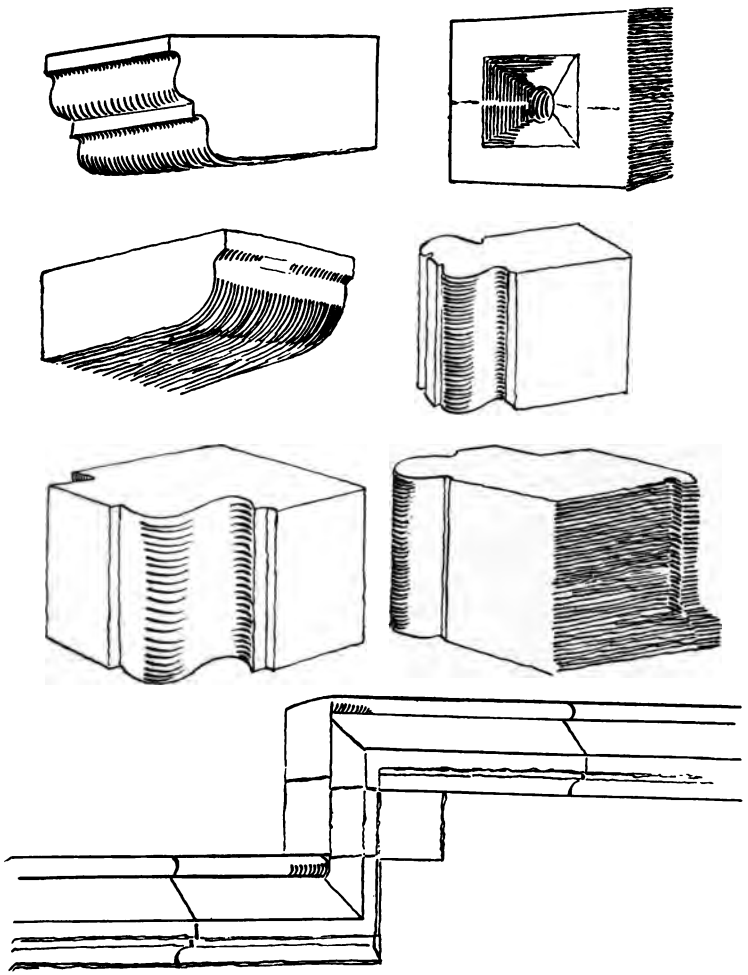
At least half a dozen port holes could have been reconstructed from the *débris* of the Saracen's Head Inn, one of which is now shown at Kelvingrove Museum. To prepare a site for the original inn, the sloping ground had been scraped off and levelled, so that the skeletons found under the west wing of the building, where the ground had never been disturbed, were not more than a foot or a foot and a half under the surface. Only an occasional human bone was found under the middle compartment and

east wing. All the human remains discovered, which had been buried without coffins, were by the orders of Mr. Peter Fyfe, Sanitary Inspector, carefully gathered and reinterred. The skeletons found had been buried with faces to the east. One entire skeleton, with hands folded across the breast, had formed a mould in the dry sand, accurately showing the form of the body when buried. Where a cellar wall had just been pulled down, Mr. Wilson, contractor for the demolition and rebuilding, showed to the writer a hole in the sand, about the size of the opening to a sand-martin's nest. He said, "Look in there, and you will see a grave." In this case the bones had fallen apart, but the mould was perfect and might almost have been refilled so as to obtain a cast of the body. If the tradition handed down by the late Mr. George Crewden is correct that Dr. Samuel Johnson and Boswell occupied the front room of the west wing on the ground floor, then the feet of "the great Cham of literature" must have been very close to dead men's bones.

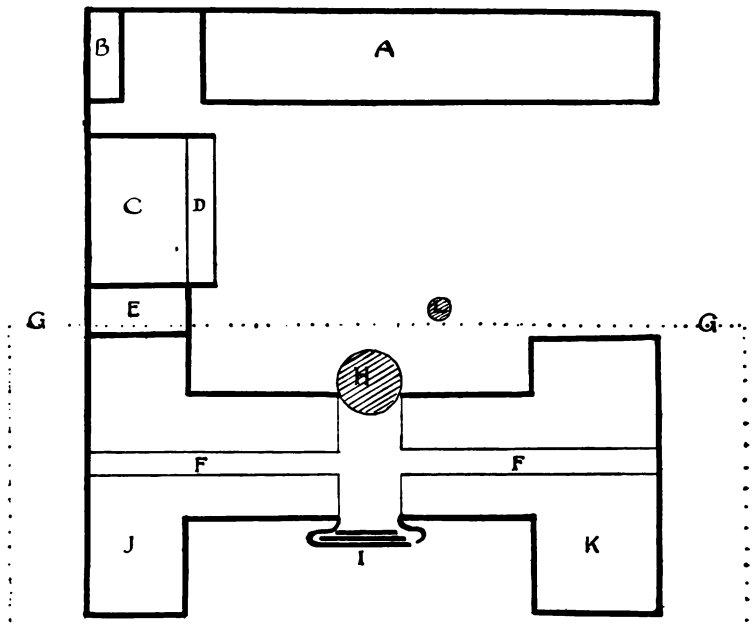
The ancient holy well of Little St. Mungo, to which I have already referred, and around which St. Mungo's converts gathered to await the arrival of the saint from Wales, was shown by the recent excavations to be nearly 12 feet north from the foundations of the churchyard wall (a part of which was seen), and as the water percolated from the high ground of the Dovehill it had never been contaminated by the graves. The well was found to be four feet in diameter, circular, stone curbed, 15 feet deep, and held 2½ feet of water. The site of the well probably curtailed the space of the burial ground when it was planned in 1500. The well is supposed to have been deepened about 10 feet by Robert Tennent or his successors in the inn as was shown by new curb stones. The old curbs, much worn, and of a different coloured stone, gave evidence that the ancient depth of the well had not exceeded five or six feet. The deepening of the well into coarse granular sand had rendered the inexhaustible flowing spring less effective as a water supply. While it was hardly possible to preserve an old and poorly erected hostelry as a landmark of the coaching days, there is a likelihood that at some future day one or two of the more famous wells of Glasgow may be restored to their former use.

A statement has been made to the effect that Miss Dorothy Wordsworth, her brother, and Coleridge, never resided at the old Saracen's Head, and that where they actually put up in 1803 was at the New Saracen's Head Inn, at the east corner of St. Mungo's Lane and Gallowgate. Through the kindness of Messrs. Paul, MacNab & Brownlie, who hold the title deeds, the writer is able to say that the new Saracen's Head was not in existence on the 22nd August, 1803, when the Wordsworth party arrived in Glasgow, and that it is almost certain that the landlord of the "New Saracen" first set up business in a small way in the old Saracen's Head, from which he certainly removed the great signboard to his new premises. The popularity of the old inn seems to have been maintained to the last, and quite a remarkable list of names of nobility and gentry could be made up by scanning the *Glasgow Courier* "arrivals at the Saracen" for three months prior to the sale of the property, which took place early in 1792. From the family of the late Mr. John Stirling, who kept a dairy in the Saracen's Head stableyard for many years, a number of particulars about the property have been received.

The accompanying sketch of the inn and yard buildings while not an exact, measured drawing, is still a sufficiently good approximation to give right ideas of the general plan. Some writers upon the subject of the Saracen's Head have given a little play to their imagination, and their sketch plans extended the property northwards to Græme Street. This gave rise to an erroneous statement that appeared in one of the local newspapers about forty years ago, to the effect that a large storage building used by the proprietors of the Saracen Foundry was the assembly room of the old inn.



Old Stones which had been used as building material in the Saracen's Head Inn. Reduced from measured drawings made by Mr. T. L. Watson. Architect. Glasgow.



Sketch Plan of Saracen's Head Inn and Stable-yard in the time of Robert Tennent—*circa* 1756.

A—Sixty Stall Stable with vaulted wine and ale cellars beneath and hayloft above.

B—Ostler's Cottage.

C—Ball Room above and shed for post-chaises below.

D—Shed for Carts.

E—Close below, anteroom above.

F—Plan of passages and centre halls on three floors.

G—Line of churchyard wall.

H—Wheel Stair.

I—Front Entrance.

J—Dr. Johnson and Boswell room.

K—Bar and Tap-room.

L—Little St. Mungo's Well.

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Glasgow Archæological Society.

ITINERARY

OF

The Society's Excursion to Stirling, on Saturday, 21st October, 1905,

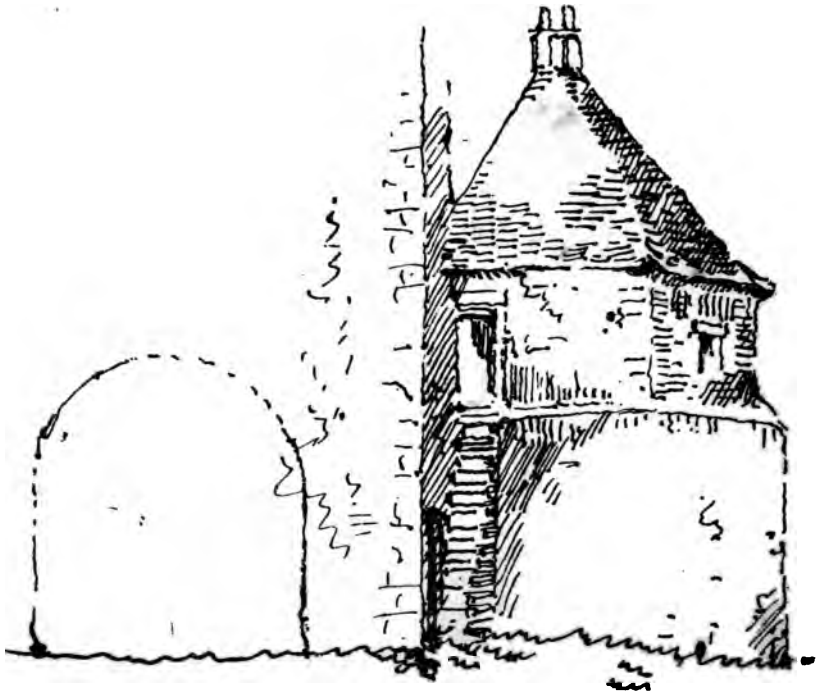
BY

J. S. FLEMING, F.S.A. Scot.

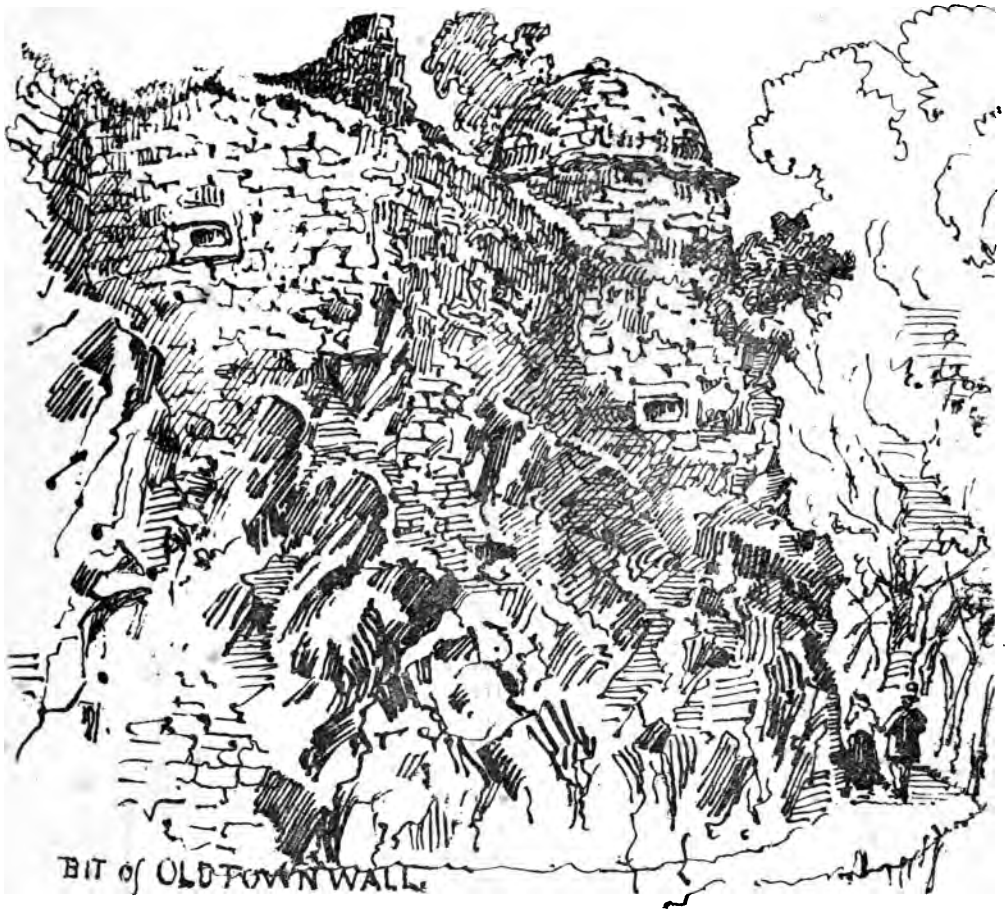
As the time at the disposal of the party is limited it has been thought advisable to indicate approximately, on the margin, when the different objects of interest will be reached.

OPPOSITE the Golden Lion Hotel, King Street, where the party will lunch, is the site of the *OLD PORT GATE* marked on the causeway by a row of stones inserted in the street.

The coach-work of Messrs. Kinross in Port Street contains some remains of the more ancient outer Wall, the Guard-room and Archway, the two last of which are in good preservation. The Archway is now built over and used as a Smithy and **2 p.m.**



Store. Beneath the Guard-room is a subterranean cell (formerly used for temporary confinement), to which a grating in the flags, measuring 11 by 7 feet, served as entrance and window. Proceeding by Dumbarton Road, we reach the *OLD TOWN WALL* in the quarter which has been known since the 15th Century by the name of "*WOLF CRAIG*" suggestive of the origin of the Burgh Seal—a wolf on a crag. Throughout its entire length a foot-path runs parallel to the Town Wall and passes many picturesque points, notably at the *OLD POWDER HOUSE.*



2-20 p.m. to 2-35 p.m.

The foot-path leads to *COWANE'S HOSPITAL* which was erected in 1638–9 and endowed with large funds left by John Cowane, Merchant, for the support of twelve decayed Gild Brethern. The front is adorned with a statue of the founder and various scriptural texts referring to the object of the foundation and to charity generally.

Statue of John Cowane.

By the removal of the ceiling between the Refectory and the Dormitory above it, the building was converted into the present hall which contains some antiquities, an old oak carved coffer and a set of ancient weights and measures. The Ludging of the Cowane family and birth-place of the founder was a picturesque baronial mansion in St. Mary's Wynd. Nothing now remains but a few ruined walls.

Close by is the *HIGH CHURCH,* anciently one building with its choir, but now separated into two, the East and West Churches, with "Garden" Aisle or Chapel attached. Within its walls many historical events took place, and the latter contains a few old flag tombstones of the Forrester families and their connections.

3 p.m.

Passing through the cemetery we reach almost immediately *REGENT MAR'S LUDGING,* a prominent building erected in 1570-2, of singular architecture with its heavily sculptured figures and ornaments; the figures of cavaliers and military persons being in the dress of Queen Mary's time. It carries several interesting and well-preserved panels with heraldic achievements. The arms of Regent Mar occur on the South Tower and again on the North Tower impaled with those of his consort, Annabella Murray, while over the Archway are displayed the Royal Arms of Scotland, probably the most perfect specimen of the complete emblazonment of that time now existing on any building. The Ludging bears the date 1570—that of its commencement—and on a sculptured figure, which once stood over the Archway and is now built into the wall of a house in Craigs, is the date 1572—that of its completion. The figure is supposed to be the effigy of the Regent himself. Over the lintels of the Tower doorways and over the archway of the rear entrance are the following inscriptions:—

3-20 p.m. to 3-50 p.m.

On North Tower.

THE MOIR I STAND ON OPPIN HITHT
MY FAVLTIS MOIR SVBIECT AR TO SITHT.

On South Tower.

I PRAY AL LVIKARIS ON THIS LVGING
VITH GENTIL E TO GIF THAIR IVGING.

Over Rear Archway.

ESSPY-SPEIK-FVRTH-AND-SPAIR-NOTHT
CONSIDDIR - VEIL - I - CAIR - NOTHT.

Earl of Stirling's Mansion.

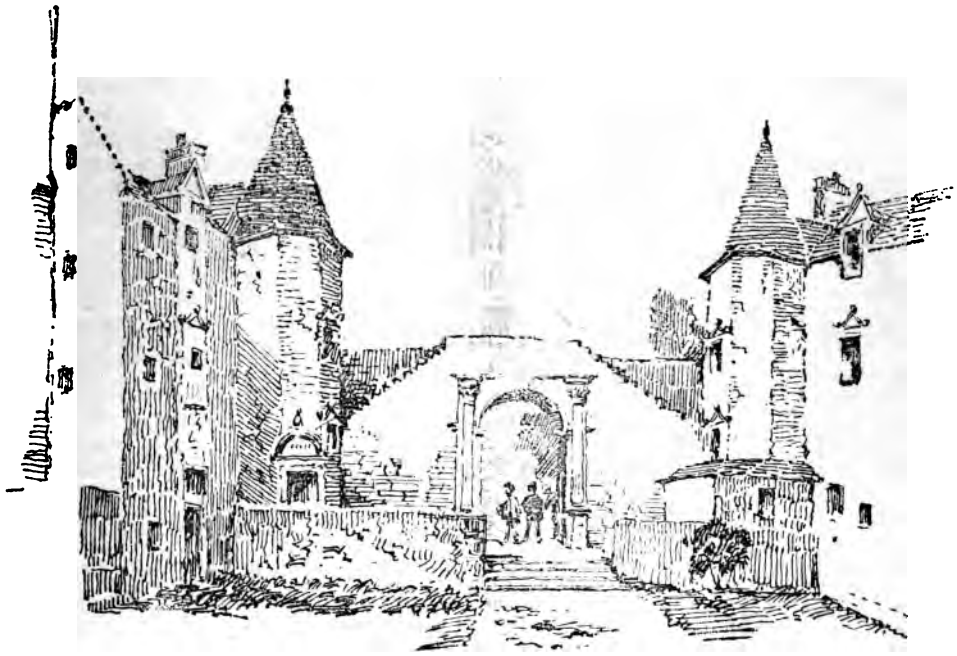
Figure said to represent the Earl of Mar.

In the controversy as to the meaning of these inscriptions it has been suggested that they refer to the Regent's answer to the comments on his building his ludging with stones from Cambuskenneth Abbey, but of this there is no evidence from the sculptured stones themselves. Lord Glamis was murdered in front of the ludging by David, Earl of Crawford, on 17th March, 1578.

Close by, in the Castle Wynd, is the *EARL OF STIRLING'S MANSION* which is entered by an imposing gateway and is considered the most perfect existing specimen of a Nobleman's Town Mansion of the 17th Century. It is now used as the Military Hospital. It was built, as the date on its porch bears, in 1632, the Architect being the Earl's second son, Sir Anthony, an eminent genius and Architect, who became Royal Master of Works, and Master Mason for Scotland. In July, 1626, he received license from Charles I., "to travel into France for the better enabling himself for

3-50 p.m.

our service, for three years." The building bears evidence of this French influence. The Earl's armorial bearings are in a panel over the porch.



Earl of Stirling's Mansion.

The Gateway and Right Wing with the two towers were erected in 1674 by Archibald, Duke of Argyle, when he acquired the Mansion. (These parts are shown in the accompanying sketch.) He entertained within its walls Charles II., when Prince, and in February, 1681, James II, then Duke of York. The last Royal resident or guest was the Duke of Cumberland in 1746, while on his way to Culloden.

Proceeding up the Wynd, we reach the *ESPLANADE* and *BRUCE MONUMENT*, from which an uninterrupted view is obtained of the Carse of Stirling and the windings of the Forth, and the battlefields of *STIRLING BRIDGE, SHERIFF-MUIR, FALKIRK, BANNOCKBURN,* and *SAUCHIEBURN.* **4-30 p.m.**

Leaving the Castle, which would require a day for its ancient historical buildings, we proceed by Broad Street, passing the ancient "Hie Gait" and Market Square, with its Cross, recently replaced on its original site. On the Square were situated the Ludings and Mansions of the resident Nobility and wealthy Burgesses of the time of the Royal Courts in Stirling Castle. Amongst these fast vanishing buildings may be noticed on the left the large front

gabled house of the Town Clerk, Norry, with topstone formed of his bust crowned with a wig, and windows bearing the date 1671 and these inscriptions:—

Top Flat.

I R **1671** **A L**

Second Flat.

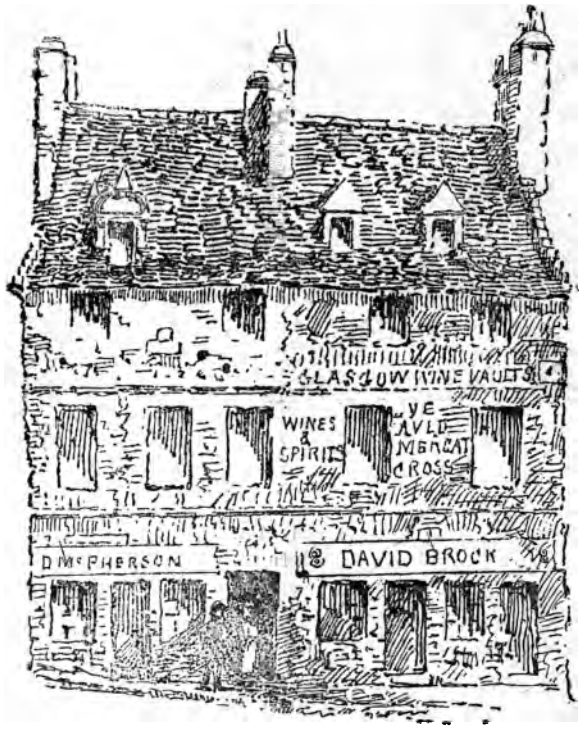
I N **Soli Deo Gloria** **A R**

("Glory to God alone.")

First Flat.

Arbor Vitae Sapienta **Murus Aheneus** **Bona Conscientia**

("Wisdom is the tree of life.") ("A good conscience is a brazen wall.")



Lord Elphinstone's House.

The second house beyond Norry's is also notable with its old front and fine dormer windows, of which only one is now left, and inscriptions *Laus Deo; Hic patra hic maneat: Nisi dominus domun,* etc. It was anciently called "*MURIE'S LAND*" and supposed to be the residence of Sir John Muir, a Chaplain, 1470. In the close leading through it to the Wynd is another old building, with ancient turret round staircase, which also belonged to Alexander, the first Lord Elphinstone, who with his wife Elisabeth Barlow, Maid of Honour to Margaret

Tudor, was infeft in it. The next house through the wide pend is that of David Forrester of Logie, a favourite of James VI., and the adjoining corner house with its quaint towers, was the ancient family house of the Forresters of Logie. At the foot of the street, and in the centre, is the well preserved mansion of the family of Erskine, Lord Mar, who held the hereditary offices of Custodier of Stirling Castle, and of the Royal Princes, successors to the Crown of Scotland. Notwithstanding the tablet on it, the safety of the infant James VI. was too important to be entrusted to one outside the Castle walls, and it was within the Castle that he resided with the Dowager Countess of Mar, and received his education.

On the south side of the Street, opposite the Cross, is an old house with turret stair, having on its two ornamental dormers, the date 1612, and the inscriptions, *Soli deo Gloria*, and *Benedecum domnum omni tempore*. Above it is the old Court House Building and ancient steeple, erected on the older Tolbooth site in 1706. St. Mary's Wynd, anciently the "Vennel of the Virgin Mary," contains a few old houses, an ornamental doorway and quaint window of

the early 18th Century; an old tavern with turret stair; John Cowane's ruined Mansion, and the Mansion of James Bowie, "Master of James VI.'s wine cellars," with his crest—a Bull's Head and initials—and date 1626, now, alas, quite removed and its site built on.

The street leads directly to the Old Bridge, built, it is supposed, by the Duke of Albany about 1404, and formerly affording the only passage of the Highway through Scotland over the Forth. At the east end, the site, and apparently part of the ruins of St. Roche's Chapel, built and endowed by James IV. (4 December, 1502), are to be seen.

A few months ago, during a very low state of the river, the site and foundations of the piers of an older bridge were discovered, about 400 or 500 yards above

the present bridge, and this, it is thought, was the Bridge of Stirling, which, as recorded by Blind Harry, played an important part in Wallace's victory, and was burned by the English in 1296, to secure their retreat from the Battle of Stirling.

From the New Bridge close by the party will take the Bridge-of-Allan tram-car to the station, and will return to Glasgow by the train leaving Stirling at 5-8 p.m.

4 50 p.m.

BONE & HULLEY, Printers, 35 Dundas Street, Glasgow.

No. V.

THE SETTING OF THE MIRACLE PLAYS.

BY

PROFESSOR D. J. MEDLEY, M.A.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 23rd February*, 1905.)

THE Miracle Plays or Mysteries of the Middle Ages deserve to be studied for their own sake. They are generally approached from the point of view of the Elizabethan drama. But in themselves they afford an unique illustration of what may be called the quintessence of the mediaeval spirit. The English plays, at any rate, were written for a very popular audience, and we may take them as a faithful transcript of the life of the class which composed the bulk of the audience, or, what is equally instructive, as embodying the ideas of that class concerning the ways of those greater than themselves. And this was done exactly as children do it, with a curious mixture of symbolism and realism. The illusion of the modern stage was impossible, for broad daylight, probably a blazing sunshine, bathed the entire scene; the actors were not professionals, and the subjects dealt with imposed very definite limitations on the writers. Still the general effect was evidently very striking; and, as we read the texts, we lose an important part of the historical lesson which they teach us unless we can picture the plays in their original surroundings. I propose to limit myself strictly in this paper to a short account of the stage and setting of these plays.

It is necessary to begin by removing a misconception. Strutt has popularised an idea, which was held until the middle of last century by French writers also, that the miracle plays were represented on a stage composed of several platforms ranged one above the other, representing either different scenes or different worlds. It has been proved by M. Paulin Paris and others, that these erections with several platforms were not for the actors, but were seats for the better class of spectators, by the letting of which considerable sums were made for the maintenance of the plays. It is true, however, that in many of the plays the platforms must have been composed of different levels. In the plays drawn from the Old Testament there is a frequent stage direction "God appears above." In the play of *Noah* he is represented as coming down and talking to Noah and then returning. Again, contemporary descriptions together with the gild expenses for the performances make frequent mention of hell-mouth, a mechanical contrivance which was much in evidence. It seems probable that when the stage was erected for a performance, this mechanical contrivance was placed on the ground on a level with the spectators, for not only did characters find their way thence and thither from off and on the stage, but much rough jesting was caused by the devils who issued from the mouth of hell and ran in and out among the spectators, from whom they would pretend to select an occasional victim. The stage itself might be but a step above the ground; it is more likely that, for the convenience of a large crowd, it would be raised several paces, and would therefore communicate with hell-mouth by a ladder. At the back of the scene there ran a gallery or another raised platform representing paradise. It was here that, in the great set plays, God and the angels sat looking down on the deeds of men wrought out on the stage below and interposing from time to time, and even descending by some means of communication of very earthly contrivance. The platform itself represented the earth, but it was necessary to localise, in however crude a fashion, the diverse scenes of the earthly drama. In many plays the action passes rapidly from one scene to another, sometimes each scene having a different set of characters. Thus, in the most celebrated of the shepherds' plays

there must be represented side by side the fields where the sheep are pastured, the cottage of Mak the sheep-stealer, and the manger at Bethlehem. The plays dealing with the Passion represent a constant change of scene. Now, there is no proof that the stage was fitted with wings or side scenes: when the scene shifted from Nazareth to Jerusalem, from Mak's cottage to Bethlehem, the actors who took part in the first scene only, must needs remain upon the platform. Did this not seriously interfere with the illusion? Not so much as we might at first sight suppose. For these various scenes—castles, cottages, hills, and such like—would be represented by pieces of painted wood or cloth, just sufficient to indicate the locality intended. Herod's palace might well take the form of a structure which to the modern mind would suggest nothing more exalted than a sentry box (the comparison is not my own). In one scene of the Coventry plays separate palaces have to be provided for Annas, for Caiaphas, for Herod, and for Pilate. Thus, in the course of his trial Christ might be led from one of these potentates to another without moving more than a few paces. During the trial before Herod, Pontius Pilate would remain seated within the structure that represented his hall of judgment, in theory neither hearing nor seeing anything of the events which took place within five yards of his eyes and ears.

Where so many places were crowded on a single scene one might imagine considerable confusion in the minds of the spectators. Various devices were used to prevent this. Sometimes a prologue enumerated and described the various structures crowded together on the stage; sometimes each triumph of mechanical art was labelled with its own name; sometimes the actor himself proclaimed his own character. Of this single fixed stage we do not hear much in connection with the English plays. The great cycles played by the town gilds have absorbed the attention of our own historians and may have prevented the full development of smaller plays. But most of the plays woven into a cycle had begun as single, unconnected dramas, and up to the last such plays, especially those in honour of local saints, continued to be performed in various parts of the British Isles; for Dublin and Aberdeen, and apparently Edinburgh also,

no less than York and Coventry and Chester, are associated with these products of mediaeval piety and art. But in France the interest attached to the cycles has not overlaid the interest of the literary historian in the single plays, and perhaps did not absorb a correspondingly large part of the popular attention. At any rate it is in France that we hear of stages a hundred feet in length on which might be crowded more than twenty representative buildings situated in several different places, some of them many hundred miles apart. But, then, it is in France that we hear of several hundred actors and of many thousand spectators to a single play of this kind. The actual erection of the theatre was a work of much care and art, the scaffolds or boxes for the more aristocratic spectators alone would contain three or four thousand persons, and the sums paid for their hire went towards the considerable expenses of an entertainment in which the mediaeval love of finery and bright colours gave itself full rein. The subjects of such plays would be part of an Old Testament or New Testament cycle, most commonly the Passion, or the various scenes in the life of some great Christian saint. But one play was given for a week, for twenty days, even in one instance for forty days. Such elaborate performances were quite beyond the simple folk on this side of the channel. In France these plays were got up by voluntary companies, nobles did not disdain to act in them, and in some of them there is a conscious literary flavour that is altogether wanting in the surviving English dramas. Sometimes, in France, the old Roman amphitheatres were turned to the use of the Christian play; in England there is some trace of definite meadows in certain places where the local plays were given, but the only approach to a shaped theatre is found in what are called the Rounds in Cornwall—the probable scenes of the cycle that has saved to us the most interesting example of the Cornish dialect.

We may believe, then, that where single plays and small groups of plays with a definite unity were acted in the British Isles, the one permanent stage would be arranged much as it was in France, though on a far simpler scale. But even the cycles were in some places acted on a fixed stage or a series of fixed stages. When as yet the cycles were growing,

but before they had outgrown the Church, separate stages seem to have been erected against the pillars, at each of which one play of the cycle was performed. When the performance was removed into the churchyard or the market place there might be one long continuous platform along which at intervals the separate dramas were played several times in the course of the day to different audiences. But in a large meadow and where plenty of room was available, each play would have its appropriate stage, and the audience would move from one part of the field to another. In the second play of the Towneley or Wakefield series there is a stage direction "Enter Cain, ploughing." Can we believe that under the most favourable circumstances this is one of those bits of realism which startles us now and again in all these series? The rustics who formed a large part of the audience would have a very professional curiosity in seeing whether Cain drove a straight furrow across the stage. It is, of course, only if the meadow itself formed the stage that this would be possible. Professor Ten Brinck thinks that the shipwrights who at York played *Noah and his Ark* would take a professional pride in turning out a seaworthy looking craft!

I have laid stress upon the fixed stage because readers of the English miracle plays are apt to imagine that all such dramas were acted upon pageants. These pageants, to which we now turn, were large wooden platforms moved upon four or six wheels, and consisting of two stories. The lower story was boarded round or hung round with cloths on which might be painted emblems or representations of the play to be given above. This formed the green room for the actors, and here were deposited the windlasses and other mechanical contrivances needed in the play. The upper story formed the stage itself, perhaps hung round on three sides with rough attempts at scenery and canopied over, partly in order to protect the actors from the weather, partly in order that pulleys might be affixed whereby, with the aid of the aforesaid windlass, angels might fly, the cross might be raised to its position, and similar mechanical contrivances might be made possible. These pageants were permanent structures belonging to an especial gild and adapted in form to the particular play with which the gild was charged. The gild accounts are full of

items connected with the maintenance of the pageant house and of the pageant or wagon itself. Shingles for the roof of the pageant house, nails, clamps, paint for the pageant—such, and many others, appear in every extant account.

These great wagons were drawn on the day of the performance from point to point as the municipal officers had previously determined. There is seldom any mention of horses; ten or twelve men hired for the purpose seem to have been the usual carriers. Moreover, the flags and devices with which the pageant was adorned were not those of the gild, but of the municipality. The details of each play were the business of the individual gild, but it was under municipal sanction that the whole celebration went forward. Yet the very largest pageant of this kind would be but a very limited stage, and where there was a crowded scene to be represented the space would be altogether inadequate. But in the English plays there is no trace of the crowds of actors who took part in the French plays. Thus, in the Towneley play of *Pharaoh*, the Israelites, represented by Moses and two boys, cross the Red Sea. Pharaoh and two soldiers follow them with much talk of chariots, and are covered by the sea, the Israelites remaining on the stage. To writers, audience, and actors demanding no more illusion than this, the presentation of any conditions was possible.

But there were methods by which the available stage space could be largely increased. Thus, in plays where several houses had to be represented at the same time, in addition to the large pageant there seem to have been smaller structures called by distinction scaffolds, which accompanied the great pageant itself. Thus, in the Coventry play of the *Trial of Christ*, already quoted, the text mentions, as if separate from the stage itself, Pilate's scaffold and Herod's scaffold, and the stage direction in connection with the latter contains instructive details. "Here they shall take Jesus and lead him in great haste to Herod; and Herod's scaffold shall unclose, showing Herod in state, all the Jews kneeling except Annas and Caiaphas, they shall stand." The process must have been something as follows: the scaffolds representing the houses of Pilot and Herod were drawn up alongside of the main pageant, and from all three there would be

communication, not probably with each other, for the structures might make that difficult, but by means of ladders with the ground below. When Christ was taken from one to the other, it would be necessary for him and his accusers—no great number we may believe—to descend from the one vehicle, and perhaps to ascend into the other. I say "perhaps," for a very common way of extending the stage space was to use the ground itself. Dialogues were not infrequently carried on by characters on the stage with others on the ground below. Most of us have heard of the stage direction quoted from the single Shearmen and Tailors' Coventry play. "Here Herod rages in the pageant and in the street also." In the *Entry into Jerusalem*, which comes from the extant Coventry cycle, not connected with the trade gilds, the stage direction is, "Christ rides out of the place and he will," which must mean "if space allows." Moreover, the three kings come riding up to the stage, dismount, ascend the stage or pageant and after their interviews with Herod and the child, mount their horses and ride away again. In the Towneley play of the *Resurrection*, the Centurion comes riding in and perhaps holds his conversation with Pilate and the high priests while he remains on horseback.

There was yet another way in which the scene could be enlarged by inclusion of the space below. A square hole in the ground was filled with water and represented the lakes or seas in Palestine or its neighbourhood, which might appear in the play. A small boat floated on the water would complete the illusion, and would easily carry its occupant from one distant seaport to another without inflicting too long a "wait" upon the audience. Truly, as the French historian of the Mysteries phrases it, the object of the representation was not to deceive the eyes of the spectator, but to enable him the better to appreciate the action.

One more contrivance must be noticed before we leave the permanent arrangements of the stage. It is not clear how the actors in the green room below communicated with the stage above—possibly by an outside ladder which would not demand the sacrifice of any of the already very limited space on the stage itself. But there were times when the occupants of the stage needed to disappear quickly from sight of the audience. In the Towneley play of the *Pilgrims*, that is, the *Disciples at Emmaus*, when

they reach the inn the stage direction runs: "Then they shall recline and Jesus shall sit between them, then he shall bless the bread and break it in three pieces, and afterwards shall vanish from their eyes." From the words put into the Disciples' mouths expressive of their astonishment, the contrivance must have acted very quickly:

> Wemmow, says Luke, where is this man become
> Right here that sat betwixt us two?
> He brake the bread and laid us some;
> How might he hence now from us go
> At his own list?
> It was Our Lord, I trow right so,
> And we not wist.

This sudden disappearance could have been managed only by means of a trap-door off the stage into the room below. Similarly, in the play of the *Last Judgment* Satan sinks into hell-pit. These disappearances were not unattended with accident, and the flames from the coloured lights below would catch an unwary actor if the machinery acted ill, and Satan's humanity would stand revealed.

Thus throughout these dramas reality and make-believe jostle each other and stand side by side like those panoramas of battlefield wherein one half of a horse is painted on the scene and the other half is the stuffed skin of a real animal. At any moment the spectator may be startled out of an indulgent attitude born of an attempt to bring sufficient imagination to bear upon the scene depicted, and may find himself contemplating a representation so like reality as to be unbearable. Thus on the one side, in the scene already described of the escape of the Israelites and their pursuit by Pharaoh, we may be pretty sure that it did not take place by the square hole filled with water, but upon the stage, and that it was acted with the aid of painted cloths. Similarly, in the Chester play of *Noah* his sons proclaimed aloud the names of the animals entering the Ark, and a representation of each sort painted on parchment was carried on by the actors. But on the other hand, the *Crucifixion* was carried out in all its gruesome details so minutely that it is often difficult to read the play, and it is wonderful to think that the spectators could bear to see it. But similarly, when Thomas puts his hand to the Lord's side,

his words show that he is intended to draw it out all covered with blood, a detail of truly mediaeval realism. Judas, again, is supposed to hang himself in view of the audience. At any rate, there are two cases recorded by French writers, in one of which the priest representing Christ on the Cross, and having several hundred lines to say as he hung there, was so exhausted that his heart almost failed; while in the other case, Judas does not seem to have been cut down before his life was extinct.

I have touched but the fringe of a most fascinating subject. Not only do the English miracle plays deserve more attention from literary and historical students than they generally get, but they need a closer study in connection with foreign models and parallels. It will go to prove, what is becoming clearer in many directions, that life in our islands in the middle ages was not an unique development along lines essentially its own, but was merely one phase of the general civilisation which permeated Western Europe.

No. VI.

NEWARK CASTLE AND ITS OWNERS.

BY

J. S. FLEMING, F.S.A.Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 23rd Feb.*, 1905.)

I. The Edifice of Newark Castle.

Our knowledge of the ancient site of the Mansion, "The New Werk de Fynlaustown Maxwell," is derived from the description in a Charter dated 26th January, 1485,[1] viz.: "The 20s. land *nuncaptus de wod* (seawood) *infra quas locus de New Werk situatur.*"

The wood in which the New Werk was situated[2] probably formed part of a quiet rural landscape, with green undulating hills, a few houses or thatched cottages, and a dense forest reaching to and covering the shore of the bay, on which the Castle would stand out prominently against the dark foliage of the background. Seaward the Castle would command a view of lonely waters, undisturbed save by the wind or sea-fowl, or perhaps by salmon fishermen plying their cobles and nets, or examining Finlaustown

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.* No. 1612.

[2] Blaeus Map (about 1600) shows New Werk on the shore, surrounded by trees, and its lands bounded by two streams entering the bay.

Yares[1] in the tideway. Now and then a small craft might pass the bay, bound to or from the city of St. Mungo. This was the scene which James IV. saw from the deck of his vessel when he anchored in New Werk bay, on a morning in May, 1495,[2] to visit Sir George Maxwell at the mansion.

A striking contrast to its early appearance is presented by the mansion now, hemmed in as it is by shipyards and over-topped by the hulls of vessels building in them, with its wall begrimed by smoke from the neighbouring works and the steamers constantly plying in the bay. Instead of the thick woods which once surrounded it are rows of houses containing the industrial population.

Of the mansion, which is still completely roofed, Messrs. M'Gibbon & Ross say that it is one of the finest specimens of the ancient baronial style existing in Scotland. Billings, writing in 1845, says that it shows the fine development of the French style of architecture prevalent in Scotland in the seventeenth century, though the windows are larger and more richly adorned than those of any country mansions of the period. He considers that it shows two periods of architecture, that of the tower being the earlier. Originally the range of buildings formed three sides of a square court, which measured 45 feet each way, and was completely enclosed by a wall formerly existing on the south side. The entrance to this courtyard was by the front archway through the guard-house, a building of two storeys (Sketch No. 1.)

The architecture shows two, if not three, periods of erection, and three are identified (I think correctly) by Messrs. M'Gibbon & Ross, viz.: (1) The square tower which forms the southmost building of the eastmost range is distinctly of the fifteenth century Keep type, although its battlements are heightened and altered, and a large modern window has been inserted in the wall to the court side. It measures 28 feet by 23 feet, its

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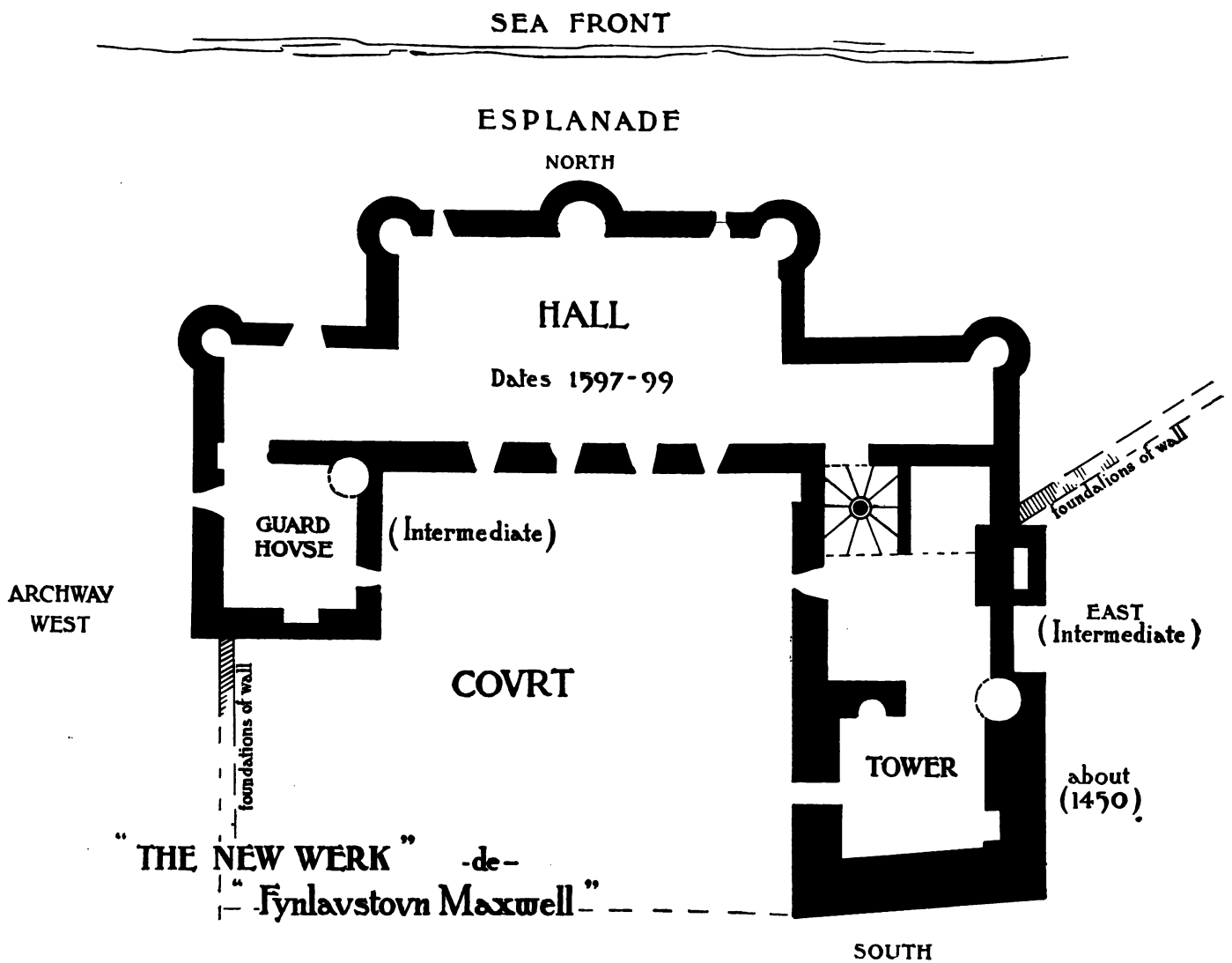
[1] *Yare*, an enclosure of semi-circular form, built of stones or constructed of stakes or wattled work, stretching into a tideway for the purpose of detaining fish that the tide leaves.—*Jamieson's Scotch Dictionary.*

[2] *Reg. Mag. Sig.* 2252. James signed a Charter at New Werk, Finlaustown, on 6th May, 1495, and spent four days there in the early part of May, 1497.

walls are fully four feet thick, and it retains its original door, which forms the present communication with the adjacent buildings to the north. (2) The main building fronting the sea (Sketch No. 2) is of baronial style, and extends to 45 feet. With the two receding wings, of which the east measures 23 feet and the west 19 feet 6 inches, it has a sea frontage of fully 87 feet. The central circular stair tower, with its two angled turrets, which are repeated on the wings, the high pitched roofs and crow-stepped gables, are all typical of baronial architecture. In this building is the large hall, which, in addition to its front windows, has four large windows on the court side. In the base of two of them are heraldic shields, and although the emblazonments are worn away, we may presume that they contained the armorial bearings of Sir Patrick Maxwell and Marion Crawford, his second wife. The main entrance is by the fine doorway from the court, as shown on Sketch No. 3. Over it are initials forming the monogram P.M., the date "1597," and the inscription, "BLISSINGIS OF GOD BE HEREIN." The initials represent those of Sir Patrick Maxwell, the builder of this part of the mansion, and the date is apparently that of its erection. On an adjoining dormer is the date 1599, apparently the date of the erection of that part. Over this doorway too is a large window, and in the base of it is a panel with an inscription, of which only the letters PESIS are legible.

To the third period belong the guard-house and the building adjoining it on the north, which, with a similar building, whose foundation walls are visible on the south, forms the *west* range. The *east* range was composed of the tower and the building immediately to its north. These are all of a date intermediate between that of the tower and of the baronial mansion (see Sketch No. 4).

The east wing contained the kitchen, with an enormous chimney built externally against the wall. The entrance to the court was an archway seven feet wide which passed through the guard-house, and had a stone seat for the gateman, and also, in its south gable wall, a gun loop-hole commanding the approach to it. The upper section of its oak-trenailed door is entire. Over the arch a framed panel bears a heraldic sculptured shield, but the emblazonment is effaced. Had it been preserved it would probably have revealed the date at which the intermediate parts of the



SKETCH I.—Ground Plan, Newark Castle.

mansion were built. The narrow esplanade in front—whose base is washed by the sea—contains on its north-east corner a small egg-shaped building, a summer-house or columbaria which formed the termination of the surrounding outside wall (shown in a ruined state), attaching it to the chimney of the east wing. The rough ground plan No. 1 shows more exactly the arrangements and measurements of these buildings. There appears also to have been, in 1484, a chapel at New Werk, of which no traces now remain.[1] It probably occupied part of the site of the baronial mansion facing the sea, and we may presume that with other ancient buildings then in existence it was pulled down in 1597 to make room for the present baronial building on the north side of the square, and might have come under the description of New Werk—the name conferred upon the mansion in 1484—but from the early date when the name New Werk is used, it almost necessarily applies to the original square tower erected in Sir George's time.

It may be explained that Finlayston Castle, the manorial residence attached to the Estate of Finlayston, legally belonged to Margaret, as *eldest* heiress portioner. A new mansion was therefore required for Elizabeth when she or her descendants came to reside on the part of the estate belonging to her. To this new mansion the name New Werk would be appropriate.

Sketch No. 2 is of the sea front, and shows the more recent part of the mansion, which, architecturally, is also the most interesting. No. 4 shows the old tower, the guard-house, and the other buildings facing the court-yard.

In the baronial building there is a large and lofty hall, with a magnificently sculptured chimney-piece, measuring 8 feet by 7 feet, and in the

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[1] On 19th October, 1484, Sir John Cuke, Chaplain of the Chapel of New Werk of Fynlauston, Sues in the High Court, Alexander, Lord Kilmaures (first Earl of Glencairn), a grandson of Margaret Dennyelstoun, and owner of half of Fynlaustoun, for £5 5s.: "three termes bigan and also for the profits his proportions of the fischings of the Sonnidays tyde of the Yare of Fynlaustoun with ane beit and net and sicklik as had been used at said Yare," *Acta Dom. Auditorum.* (Allowed proof of Lord Kilmaures' occupation, and how long of the Yares and how muckle to pay Schir John.)

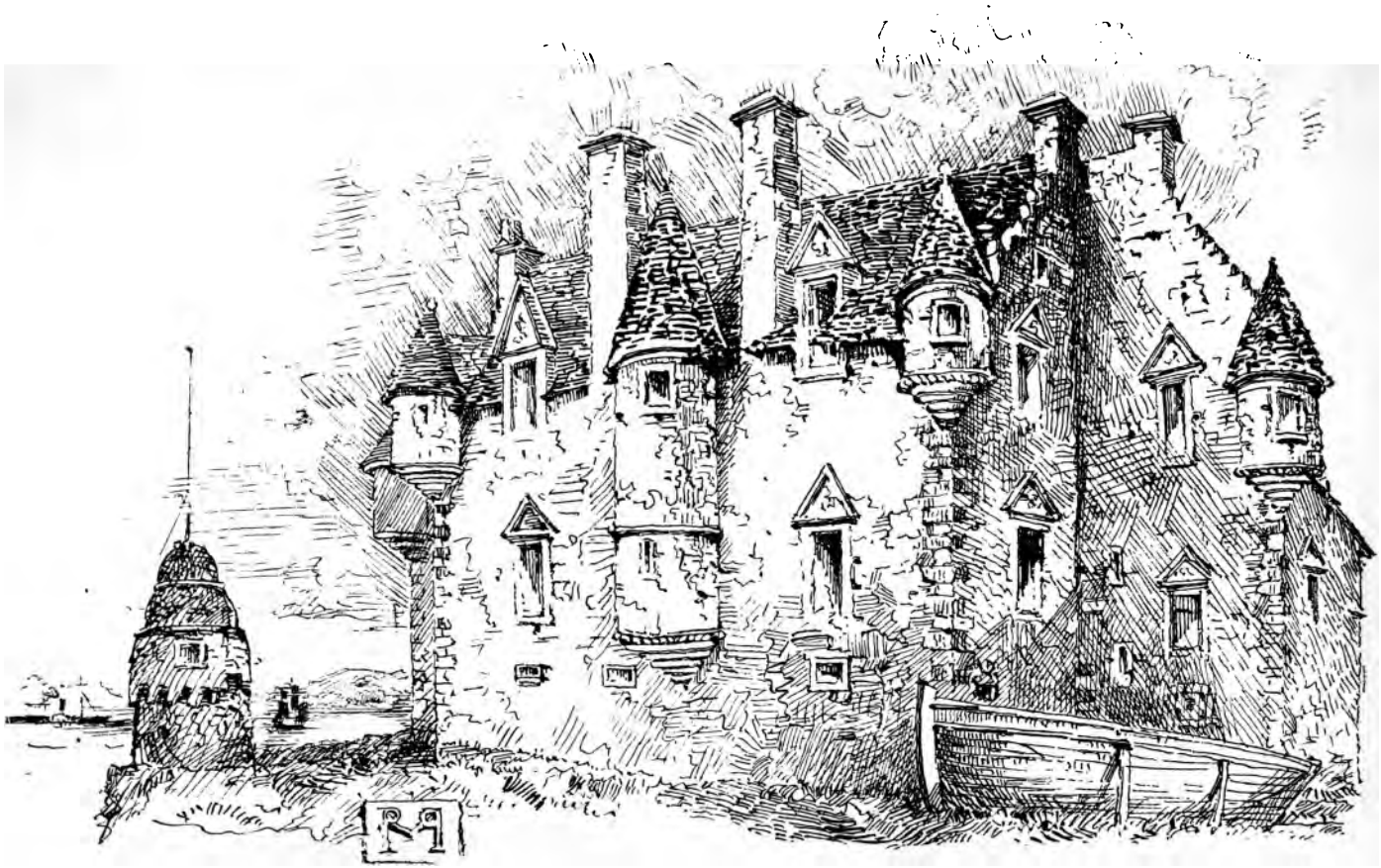
top storey is a large gallery, for a detailed technical description of which the reader is referred to Vol. II. of Messrs. M'Gibbon & Ross' *Baronial Mansions*. Reference might also be made to Drawings and Notes of Mr. George W. Brown, F.S.A., Architect, published in the *Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries*, Vol. XVI. p. 494. These drawings are fully detailed plans. In Mr. Brown's opinion the buildings show two periods of erection, but there is no evidence to show whether or not the east and west wings were connected by buildings previous to the erection of the baronial part. He conjectures that there was no such connection, and that the space between the wings was open. He states that the site of the chapel near to the castle was pointed out to him, but that it is now obliterated by modern buildings erected in the garden.

2. Notes on the History of the Owners.

The families of Finlaystoun and Dennistoun, the early proprietors of the estate in Renfrewshire, on part of which the Mansion of Newark is erected, go back at least to the thirteenth century. On 29th August, 1296, by a somewhat singular coincidence, "Finlaw de Huston, Knight, and Huwe de Danielstoun" appear together at Berwick-on-Tweed as rendering homage to Edward of England, and these names of the ancestors of the families by transmutation can be traced through the successive Charters of the estates as having resulted in the modern names of Finlayston and Denniston.

The earliest record of the part of the estate on which the New Werk is built is in a charter by Robert III., dated at Rothesay, 15th January, 1403,[1] granted to Robert Danyelstone (origin of name Denniston) *Militis* of all and whole the lands de Danyelstoun, et de Fynlaustoun, with the pertinents situated in the Barony of Renfrew, and County of Lanark, viz.—the £40 land of said Barony, the lands de Kilmuege, de Seywood, et Donavald litel, et Donavald meikle etc., the *reddendo* being payment of a silver penny at "our Manor of Renfrew."

[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, p. 213, No. 50.



SKETCH 2.—North or Sea Front, Newark Castle.

The only children of Robert de Danyelstoun were Margaret, who married Sir William Cunningham of Kilmaurs, and Elizabeth, who married Robert Maxwell, Lord of Calder, and they succeeded equally in *pro indiviso* shares to their father's estate. Shortly after his death, for the purpose of dividing the lands, they became parties to a contract entered into between the Earl of Lennox, then superior of the lands (as mutual arbiter apparently) *on the one part*,[1] and Sir William Cunninghame and Margaret his spouse, and Sir Robert Maxwell and Elizabeth his spouse, *on the other part*, by which the lands were so divided that the part called Nether Fynlauston fell to Sir Robert, as the share belonging to Elizabeth his wife, and was henceforth known as "Fynlaustoun Maxwell," while the principal messuage and the upper parts of the estate fell to Sir William Cunningham and Margaret his wife, who was also the elder daughter. The latter share of the estate was henceforth known as "Fynlaustoun Cunninghame." The £40 lands of which the estate consisted were thus divided equally into two £20 lands.

Sir Robert Maxwell was killed at Verneuil in France in 1424, when fighting for the French against the English, and was succeeded by his son John, who obtained Charters from James II. on 4th December, 1450, and 3rd April, 1453-4.[2] He conveyed Finlauston Maxwell to his son George, and James III., with consent of his eldest son, Prince James, Duke of Rothesay (then an infant of five years of age), granted a Charter on 22nd January, 1477,[3] confirming this title. In the description the subjects are described as the lands and Barony of Nether Finlauston, from which it appears that they had not then acquired the name of New Werk, which must consequently have been given to it when the tower was built by George, afterwards Sir George Maxwell. The reason for the consent of Prince James, Heir Apparent to the Crown, being taken to the Charter of Confirmation is not explained.

Sir George Maxwell seems to have stood in high favour with James IV., who visited the mansion in May, 1495, and stayed in it for six days, from

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, p. 213, No. 50.
[2] *Ibidem*, 404, 599.
[3] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1352.

6th May, 1497.[1] Owing to the financial embarrassment into which he afterwards fell, and which may have been due to the entertainment of his royal guest and extravagant living, and perhaps also to the expense of his building operations, many parts of his estate were disponed to creditors in security for loans. In all the dispositions, however, special reservation is made of "*le wod infra quas locus de Newerk situatur*," but the wood and mansion had ultimately to go also, and when Sir George's son, Patrick (the first of the name), succeeded to the title, about July, 1483 (the father being alive on 6th May, 1483), he inherited an impoverished and impaired estate. The heir was then a minor, and, with his relative and curator Robert Houston, on 21st October, 1484,[2] appears vested in the estate from a deed of that date, in which the property is for the first time described as "The place and Manor of New Werk, with the £20 land of the ancient extent of the wood of the same, and lying adjacent thereto in the Barony of Fynlaustoun Maxwell." The burdens on the estate appear undischarged, at least down to 16th May, 1494, all as shown by the record.[3]

Sir Patrick is said to have died in 1522, but there is evidence that his death must have occurred much later, for we find "Patrick Maxwell of New Werk" signing a Charter, and subscribing many others as a witness at various dates between 1528 and 1538. In 1539 he appears as one of four curators to David Crawford of Kerse, and on 21st October in the same year he obtains from John, Lord Lile, a Charter to Kilmacolmes, which is confirmed on 21st January, 1540. On his death it is alleged that his son Mungo regulated the succession to the estates by will dated 11th July, 1547, whereby his own son George (second of the name) took Newark, and his other son John took Dargarval.[4] Sir George married Margaret

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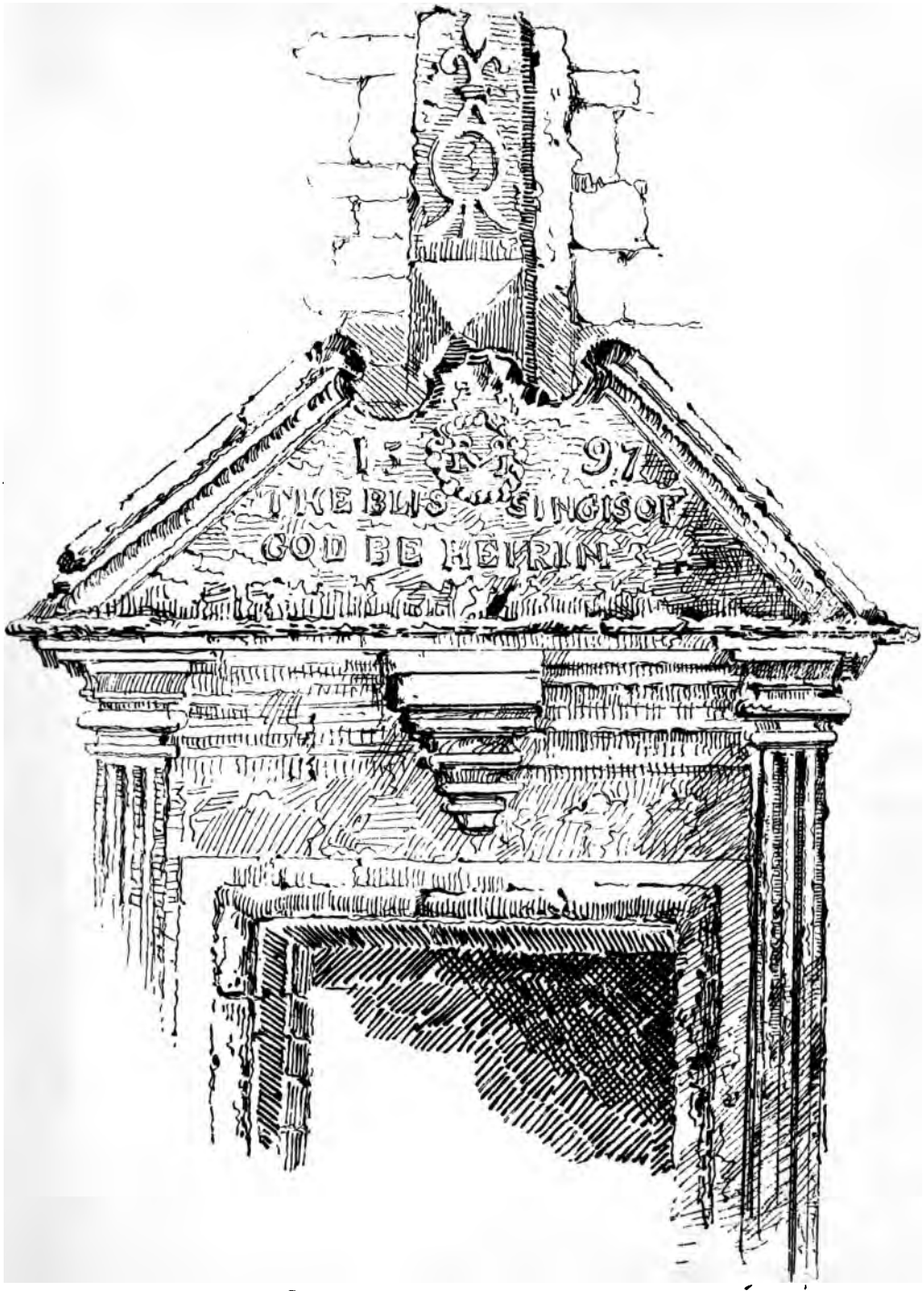
[1] "1497, May 6. Item to ane bote to fetch wine from the ship quhen she lay at 'The New Werk,' 8s. 8d. 1497, May 10. Item at Dumbarton to the bote that hed the King's geir on burd to The New Werk, viz. 6s."—*Lord Treasurer's Accounts*, v. 1., pp. 383-390.

[2] *Acta Dom. Consilii.* [3] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, Nos. 2047-61, 69, 2214, etc.

[4] There is a mistake in this authority as to the name of Sir Patrick's son and heir, for it appears from an agreement of betrothal entered into between Sir Patrick and John, Lord Semple, to have been not Mungo but George. In accordance with the common mediaeval custom, Sir Patrick in 1518 had, by agreement with Lord Semple, betrothed



SKETCH 3.—Doorway, Newark Castle.

Cunninghame, and was alive in 1593.[1] He was succeeded by his son Patrick (the second of the name), who was twice married, first to Margaret, daughter of Sir William Muir, and second to Marion, daughter of William Crawford. His initials are on the part of the mansion already referred to as having been built by him in 1597.

Sir Patrick, who was as restless and quarrelsome as his predecessors in Newark, mixed himself up and took part in the quarrels of his kinsmen. He was nearly killed in one of these skirmishes at Lockerbie, and in 1622 he had to answer with his kinsman, Maxwell of Calderwood, for the murder

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his son George to Marionne, Lord Semple's "dochter." When the lady became of marriagable age George declined to fulfil his part of the bargain, and Marionne, with her brother William, Lord Semple (her father having died), raised an action against Patrick for the penalties in the agreement "for wrangis deferring and failing to caus George Maxwell, his *son and apperand air*, to marry the said Marionne." On the pursuers failing to proceed, Patrick protested on 18th March, 1518, that they "had nought compeired to pursue the action," and his protest was allowed. In this case, as also in that of the lady's sister Issabel, similarly betrothed to one George Chalmers, both of the intended husbands were within the degrees of affinity to the ladies prohibited by the Canon Law, and Lord Semple employed a Priest, Master John Moray of Blakbarony, at a fee of £50, to proceed to Rome to obtain from the Pope "two dispensanciones matrimoniales." These were duly obtained, and "were brocht hame from the Court of Rome by him, *i.e.* ane for the mariage to be contracted betwixt George Maxwell and Marionne Semple, dochter to the said Lord, and tither betwixt George Chalmers and Issabel Semple als his dochter." On the death of Master Moray, his relict raised an action against William, Lord Semple, who shabbily declined to pay the money since the letters were now worthless, on account of the intended husbands' refusal to implement their marriages, and alleged the defence of the letters "not having been delivered within ane certain time." The Court, on 25th November, 1518, held the delivery to have been timeously made and decerned against the defender for £25, a similar sum having been given to the Priest when he set out on his business.

[1] On 24th May, 1568, James VI., when reducing the Castle of Dumbarton held by his rebel noblemen, found it "needful and convenient that the tour and fortilice of Newerk now being in the hands of George Maxwell of Newerk be intromitit with and keep it in our said Sovereign's name als weill for defence of his weil belovit subjects dailly opprest and heirit be the keepers of said Castle as for pursuit of same keeparis," etc, and letters were directed by the Lord Regent's Grace to Robert Lord Semple as Lord Lieutenant "to take possession by himself and servants of said tour and fortilice and keep and use the same in our Sovereign's name as he will answer." The fortilice seems thus to have been a place of some strength, and George Maxwell's loyalty not beyond suspicion. *Reg. Privy Coun.*, vol. i., pp. 626-7. (Murray then Regent.)

of Walter, Laird of Lekky. Most reprehensible of all, he not only litigated with his aged and widowed mother, but threatened her life, and she swore law burrows against him and had him bound over in security of £1000.[1] He had a son George (third of the name), who married Helen Maxwell of Tilling, and predeceased his father. On his death the succession was carried on by his son Patrick (third of the name), serving himself heir to his grandfather, Sir Patrick Maxwell. He was knighted by Charles I., and married Marion, daughter of Sir Dougald Campbell, who bore him a son George (fourth of the name). Sir Patrick died in 1678, and was survived until 1684 by his son George, who left a son Patrick (the fourth of the name) by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Semple. This Patrick married Margaret, the only child and heiress of John Napier of Kilmahew, and had a son, George Maxwell Napier, who, having a residence on his other estate, sold Newark to William Cochrane of Kilmarnock. Thus, after being held by the Maxwell family for fully two hundred years, the estate passed out of its possession. After many transfers through the Hamiltons, Lords of Belhaven, it was sold in 1820 by the eighth lord to Robert Farquhar, banker in London, and in 1825 it returned to the Shaw branch of the Maxwell family, when Mr. Farquhar's only child and daughter married Sir Michael Shaw Stewart. The son of

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[1] On the murder of Pat Maxwell of Stanlie by William Cochran, his servant, and others, "Pat Maxwell apperand of Newerk" along with some others became Cautioners that his widow, Giles Maxwell, should pursue the murderers in Court, and he and his co-cautioner George Cunninghame of the Hay were "unlawit" in the panes contenit in the Act of Parliament for non pursuit of said persons, the widow having been persuaded to pass from their pursuit, and the Court on 1st February, 1583, also deserted the diet *pro loco et tempore* as to recovery of these penalties. Patrick, on the abandonment by the widow, then took up the cause of his kinsman of Stanlie, and surprised and murdered Robert Montgomerie of Skermorlie and his son William in one day, for which he was brought to trial. In 1593 he fought a sanguinary battle at Lockerbie, when his clan was routed, and he barely escaped with his life. At his trial in 1611 for the above murders and other strife, the diet was adjourned on his finding caution; but the Court seems to have been disinclined to have anything further to do with him unless forced on it, and nothing was apparently done. The inscription, inserted by him over the doorway of his mansion, praying for the blessings of God on its inmates, appears in the light of his atrocities, as an audacious act of hypocrisy.

SKETCH 4.—Court Side, Newark Castle.

this marriage—also Sir Michael—succeeded to the estate in his mother's right, and now by his recent decease he is succeeded by his son, Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, M.P., of Carnock, Stirlingshire.

The fine but neglected mansion is capable of repair at small expense, and is worthy of a better fate than that of sheltering the two or three workmen's families who presently occupy it. Unpleasant and unhistorical as its surroundings are, I feel assured, from my personal knowledge of Sir Hugh Shaw Stewart, that he is unlikely to sanction the act of vandalism by which it is proposed to demolish this ancient building to provide further accommodation for the adjoining shipyards.

No. VII.

CERTAIN PECULIARITIES IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF IONA.

BY

JOHN HONEYMAN, LL.D., R.S.A.

(*Read at a meeting of the Society held on 16th March, 1905.*)

So much has been published in recent years regarding Iona—its People, its Cathedral, and its Patron Saint—by the late Duke of Argyll, the Rev. Mr. M'Millan (the minister of the parish), Mr. Champneys, Principal Story, the Rev. Mr. Martin of Wellington U.F. Church, and others, that I need not occupy your time with any general description of the place, or its early history. There is, however, a good deal to be seen about the buildings which may escape the notice of any one who may not have sufficient leisure to examine the remains minutely, or sufficient experience to discern peculiarities in the architecture, which are seldom or never found elsewhere; and your Council has thought that a short reference to some things of that sort by me would be interesting to members of our Society. My notes, however, will not be so interesting as they might have been if I had been able to obtain a larger number of illustrations. I have found it impossible to get many of these.

The plan of the Cathedral as it now stands presents no unusual feature. Neither the nave nor the transepts have side aisles, and the choir has only one—on the south side—though the sacristy, so-called, on

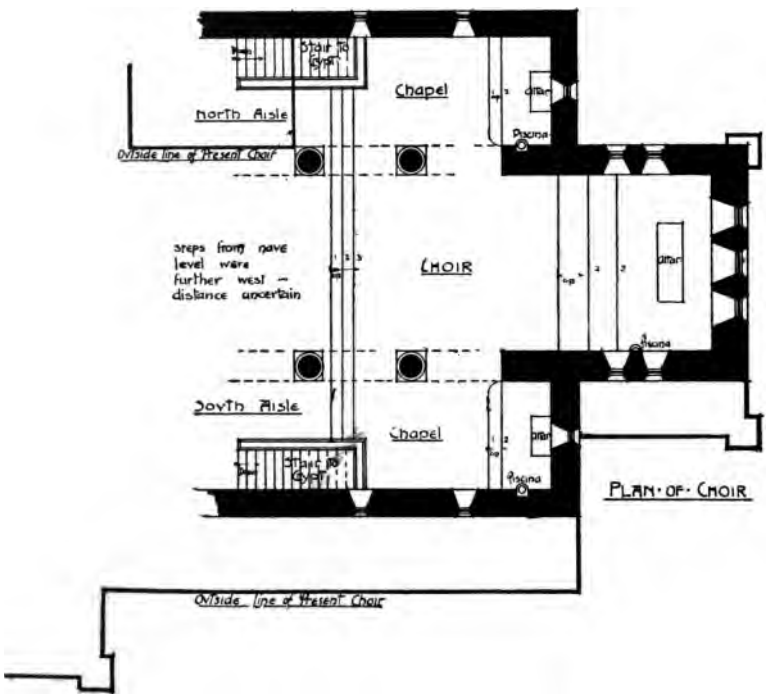
the north side, takes the form of an aisle of unusual proportions. Immediately connected with this is the most striking feature in the interior of the choir: the two arches springing from responds and resting on a centre pier, the bases of which are six feet three inches above the level of the choir floor. The existence of this unusual feature in a Gothic church has given rise to much speculation, but hitherto no satisfactory explanation of the purpose it was intended to serve has been suggested. Nor is this surprising, as I think I shall easily be able to show that it never was designed to serve any purpose whatever in connection with the present choir, but is, along with the adjoining wing—known as the sacristy—and a considerable portion of the adjoining north wall, part of a much older choir, the floor of which was at the level of the base of the centre column. This choir, like the nave which was connected with it, was narrower than the present building. Underneath the floor at the east end of that old church, and extending westwards probably not further than the western respond of the arcade, there was a crypt underneath the high altar intended (as at Amalfi) to be the last resting-place of the Patron Saint. I do not doubt that if ever the bones of St. Columba were carried back to Iona it was in that spot, beneath the high altar of the twelfth century church, that they were enshrined. For we must ever remain in doubt whether these venerable remains formed part of a church which had been destroyed, or part of one which had never been completed.

It will be seen by reference to the diagram showing the levels how naturally the slope of the ground suggests the idea of a crypt being introduced at the east end. The doorstep at the west end of the nave is four feet one-and-a-half inches above the present floor of the choir and the height from the same floor to the plinth of the base of the centre column of the old arcade is six feet three inches, which leaves a difference of only two feet one-and-a-half inches between the level of nave and choir floors, even if laid quite horizontal. If we have the choir floor at this level it will be seen that the wing to the north simply becomes its north aisle and the space below the floor level a portion of the crypt; and there is still evidence that that was so. In the east end of this

north aisle there was a chapel, and the piscina remains in its thick old south wall, but in a position so near the present floor as to be useless. The upper bed of this piscina is only one foot two inches above the level of the choir floor, but if we carry down the level below this two feet three inches to the step on which the altar stood and assume that the floor of the chapel was a foot below that, we arrive at the conclusion that the distance between the two was three feet three inches. If, then, we add to this the height from the present choir floor to the underside of the base of the centre column, namely, six feet three inches, we find that there is a total height from the floor of the chapel to the floor of the old choir of nine feet six inches, which is quite sufficient for the kind of crypt which was there, or was originally intended to be there; and it is a curious fact that when the area of the sacristy floor was cleared out just about this depth, we came upon what seemed to be the remains of a former cobbled paved floor, and at all events we had not got below the level of the foundations of the walls. There is also some confirmatory evidence still to be seen in the choir, such as the scarcement of the thick old wall below the level of the arcade with indications of a door which could only have been used at the lower level, and of the jambs of a window near the east gable of which the same must be said. Again, it will be observed that in the north wing there are two tiers of windows—the lower ones being small and properly placed for lighting the crypt and those above being properly placed for lighting the aisle; and the window in the gable is evidently co-eval with the arcading. There is a peculiarity here which is worthy of notice in passing, namely, that the floor of this aisle forming the roof of the chapel below was of wood and the roof corbels remain exactly in the proper position for bearing the beams across the space so that the floor should be exactly level with the base of the centre column. Although this aisle stops immediately west of the arcade, we found on the line of its north wall, at the depth of about two feet six inches from the surface, the remains of a substantially built wall, showing that this aisle had been at one time continued as far west as the transept, but apparently the crypt had not been carried westwards further than the existing arcade, as the foundation

IONA · CATHEDRAL ·

PLAN · OF · ANCIENT · CHOIR · AS · INDICATED · BY · EXISTING · REMAINS



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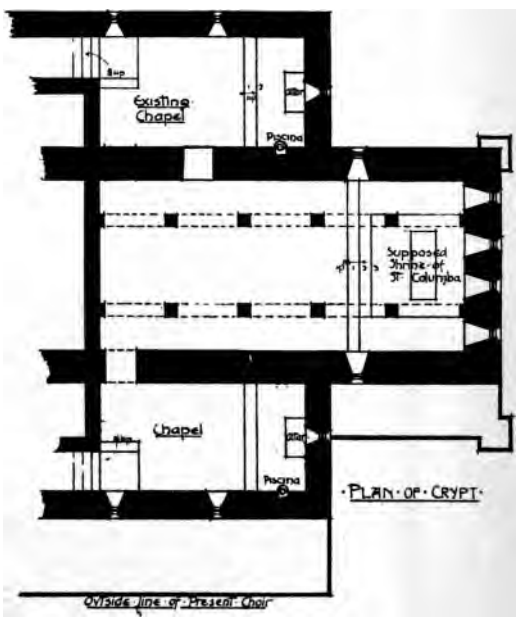

· PLAN · OF · CRYPT ·

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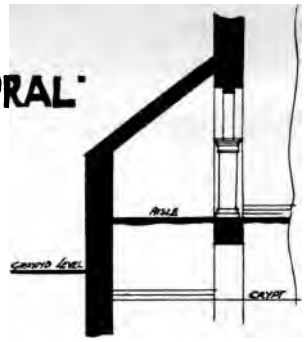
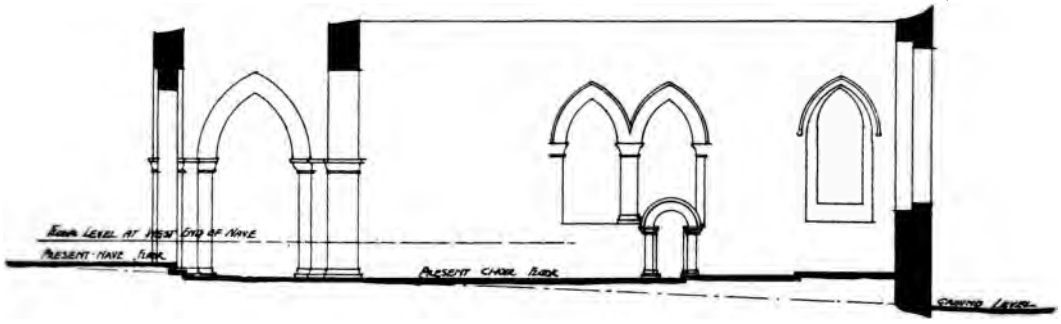
"IONA" CATHEDRAL

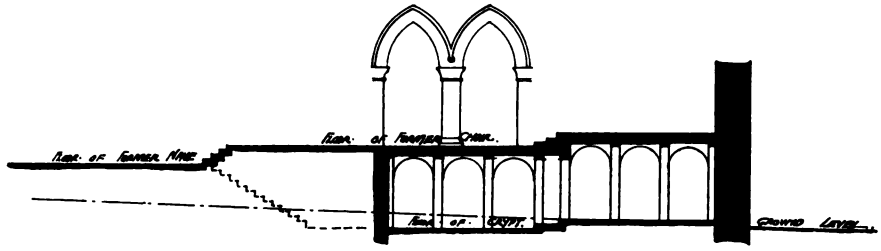
DIAGRAMS · ILLUSTRATING
DR. HONEYMANS PAPER.



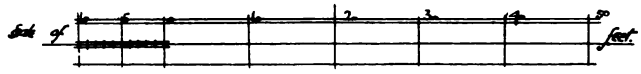
"CROSS" SECTION" LOOKING EAST
SHEWING ORIGINAL FLOOR LEVELS.



"LONGITUDINAL" SECTION"
SHEWING FLOOR LEVELS
AT PRESENT



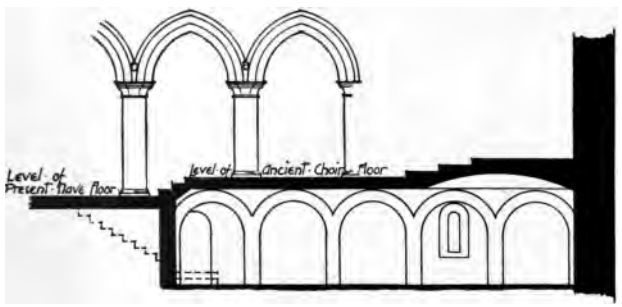
"LONGITUDINAL" SECTION"
SHEWING ORIGINAL FLOOR LEVELS.



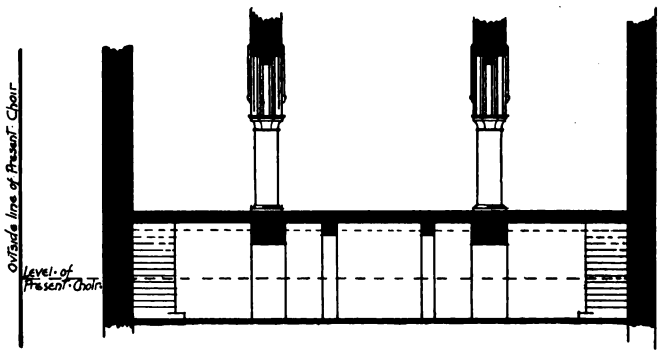
Section of Ancient Choir.

· IONA · CATHEDRAL ·

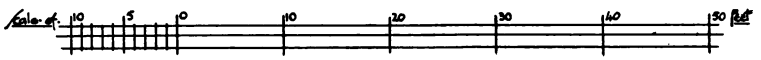
· SECTIONS · OF · ANCIENT · CHOIR · AS · INDICATED · BY · EXISTING · REMAINS ·



· LONGITUDINAL · SECTION



· TRANSVERSE · SECTION ·



of the main north wall of the choir west from that point is only about eighteen inches below the surface. It may be interesting to notice in this connection that many things seem to indicate that the designer of this old uncommon and beautiful building seems to have drawn his inspiration in this and in other respects from the church of Scotland's Patron Saint.

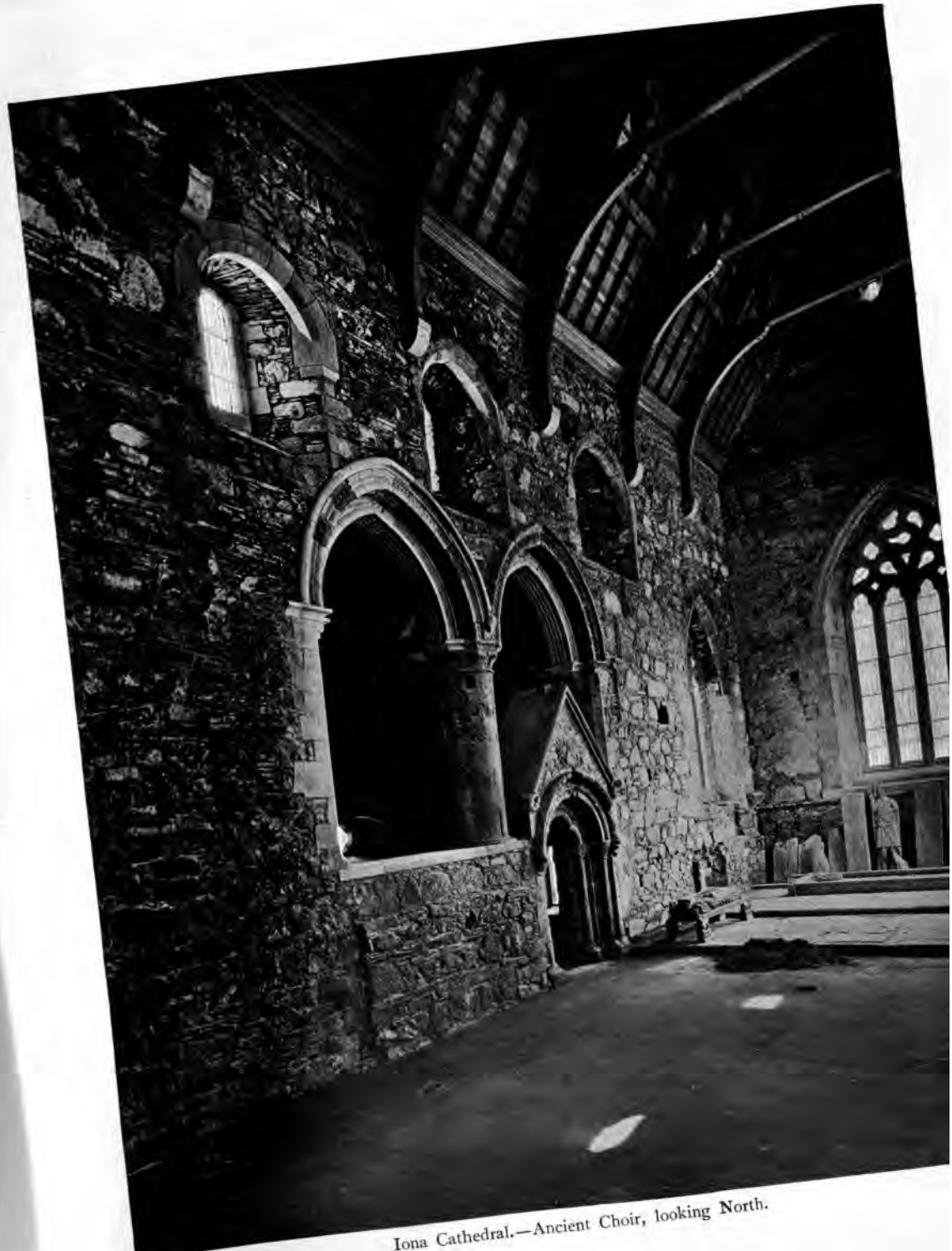
The nave floor being higher than the existing choir floor must slope eastward, this arrangement is not an unusual one where the site is uneven, as at Milton, near Whalley, Hingham (Norfolk), Mitton, Halifax, and elsewhere. But such inequalities would suggest to earlier builders that instead of going down to the choir they might as well go *up* a few steps and utilise the space below, as in the case of our own Cathedral; and in the present case it will be seen that if the floors of the older building had been laid horizontal there would only be the difference of two feet one-and-a-half inches between the floors of the nave and the choir. That this was the original level of the nave floor is evidenced by the existence near the west end of some interesting old fragments. Here, on the north side, part of the wall is of dressed stone of Norman character and in it a built-up semicircular-headed door, which, I may say in passing, I had opened up sufficiently to show that not one piece of the original hewn work remained. Connected with this wall is the base of a small tower, the entrance to which is a small door in its east wall about eight feet above the floor of the nave. The peculiar feature of this tower is that up to the level of this small door it is built solid: this I had proved. This solid building of the lower part of a tower is, so far as I know, unique in Scotland. In Ireland several of the Round Towers are so constructed.

At a distance of sixteen feet six inches south from the fragment of Norman wall there remains the foundation of the south wall of the older church, with a plain splayed base on its south face. It seems that the existing north walls were built on the old foundation, and as the new church was much wider than the old one, the south portion of the latter was taken out of the way, except this small portion near the west door.

I may here mention another peculiarity of the architecture of this church, namely, that I have never seen a building where the architectural details gave so little indication of their age. We have a good deal of fifteenth century work which is intelligible, and in the cloister court a very characteristic early English refectory; but all the rest is exceedingly puzzling and I may not dogmatise about any of it, but only give you my opinion for what it is worth. Almost any theory of date leads us into difficulties. The prevailing style—including that of the nunnery chapel—is a late transitional with rather archaic details, and some—both mouldings and sculpture—are to be found nowhere else in the same connection. The north arcade of the choir and the arches of the entrance to the chapter-house are of the same age; but even the east portion of the latter building seems later, and the buildings between it and the cloister are much later. The north transept has been mistaken for Norman work; but the details even of the east arcade, with its round-headed arches and windows, show that it is not earlier than the thirteenth century. A Norman capital in the north-east angle is probably not older. It seems that originally this part was intended to be vaulted.

This leads me to notice another peculiarity, namely, the lowness of the windows in all the gables. The explanation of this is that the church was intended to be ceiled at the level of the wall-head, above which four spacious apartments were formed, accessible by the turret stair at the south-west corner of the tower. The beams of this floor appear to have rested on the wall-head, and to have been stiffened by struts resting on runners supported on corbels, which still remain on each side of the choir and transept, and which would thus form a semi-octagonal ceiling, or something approaching that. It was necessary, therefore, to keep the windows in the gables below the level of the wall-head. The original doorways remain in the four sides of the tower giving access to the attics. This same arrangement may still be seen at Torphichen, Linlithgowshire, and at Lincluden.

The whole of the east wall of the north transept is worthy of notice. It is seven feet thick, whereas the other walls are only three feet three inches thick. The arcading, which I have already referred to, fills up,



Iona Cathedral.—Ancient Choir, looking North.

with the remains of the vaulting shaft, the space between the gable and the north-east respond of the tower, and at the centre between the two deeply recessed windows there are traces of an altar and the remains of a pedestal with a small fragment of a figure little less than life-size. This has generally been assumed to be part of a seated figure, but that is evidently a mistake, as the size and position of the feet prove, and a careful examination of the face of the pier shows blocks of freestone now cut flush with the wall, on portions of which the head and body of the figure had no doubt been sculptured. Whose statue was this which so evidently formed part of the original design of this arcade? We have no clue.

A few feet above this in the thickness of the wall there is a narrow passage leading from the dormitory to the choir, where its opening is seventeen feet above the choir, probably giving access to a rood loft or to the church, though another access to the church seems to have been provided from a door in this same passage close to the outside of the choir wall, which may have led to the sacristy by a covered passage. The arrangement seems to have been made chiefly with the view of giving access to the choir during the night. The east wall of the sacristy is old, but the west wall is not, and no trace of a door is now to be found in it. Above the passage the thick wall has been carried up to the flat ceiling already referred to, and then the wall is thinned from the inside to the same thickness as the west wall. When this old ceiling existed the transept would have quite a symmetrical appearance, but it has a somewhat lopsided appearance now, as the axis of the roof, as of the gable, is midway between the external faces of the walls—as it has always been.

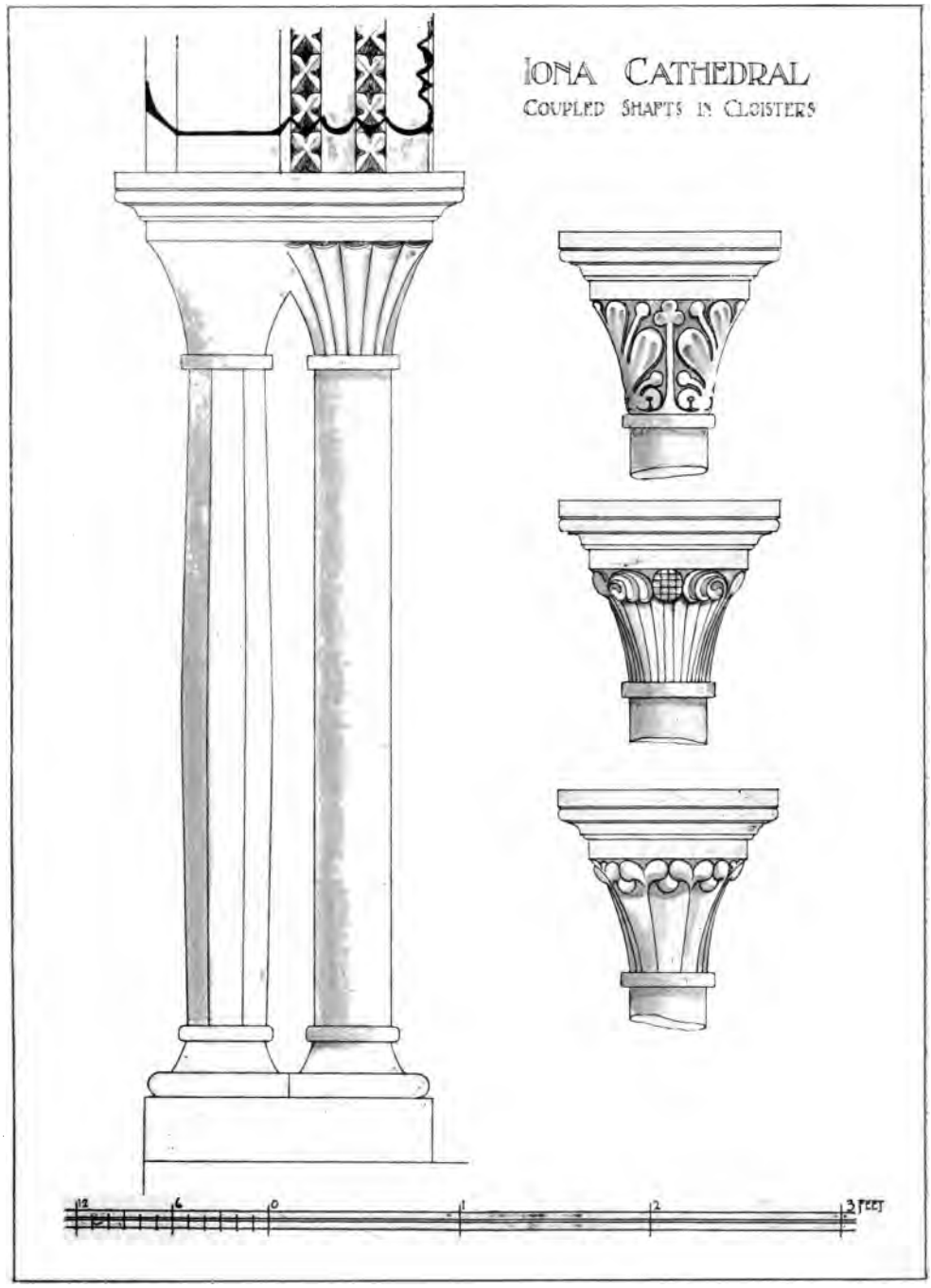
In the west wall of the transept there is a very beautiful late door, opening into the cloister, having a semicircular head, but it is peculiar in this, that the door check and rear arch are towards the outside, so that the door must open outwards. This is a very unusual arrangement, and there is nothing now to indicate that this door had given access to any porch or other apartment. The cloister has, apparently without any such obstruction, extended continuously round the four sides of the garth, and

the fragments of arches and piers which remain prove that it was an exceptionally beautiful structure, exhibiting many peculiar and interesting features.

Here we find a variety of architectural puzzles hard to be understood. The distance between the church and the refectory is 73 feet; and from the west wall to the west wall of the chapter-house vestibule 66 feet; and the remaining foundations of the cloisters show that they extended round the square, and that the width between the walls was 10 feet 10 inches with slight variations. The remains of capitals, bases, shafts, and archstones preserved in the chapter-house are sufficient to enable us to reproduce the design. The walls—if I may so speak—consisted of a succession of arches resting on coupled shafts on a low base-course or sill, part of which still exists apparently *in situ*. The total height from the floor to the eaves appears to have been 8 feet 6 inches. The arrangement just mentioned seems to have been followed on three sides of the quadrangle, but on the fourth, namely, the south side, we find instead of the low base or sill a wall about 3 feet 6 inches high of uncertain age. I hope to have an opportunity of examining this wall more carefully by excavations at different points. In the meantime I think there is good evidence of its antiquity. It was probably part of an older cloister, similar to that which still exists at Oransay, where the cloister on the south side differs considerably from the other.

Although I do not feel quite satisfied about this, I may mention, as favouring its probability, that this south cloister adjoins the remains of the wall I have already referred to as probably the oldest portion of the existing remains, and also that it occupies the same relation to the church and the built-up door as the corresponding cloister at Oransay does to the church and the still open door there.

There is abundant evidence that the three cloisters were of much more refined and beautiful design, and that they were not erected before the thirteenth century. They were of a type most unusual here, but not uncommon among the earlier Italian churches, as, for example, at San Zeno at Verona, and at Amalfi. The wall—what little there is of it—is carried on a continuous arcade of small arches (having a span of 2 feet


IONA CATHEDRAL
COUPLED SHAFTS IN CLOISTERS
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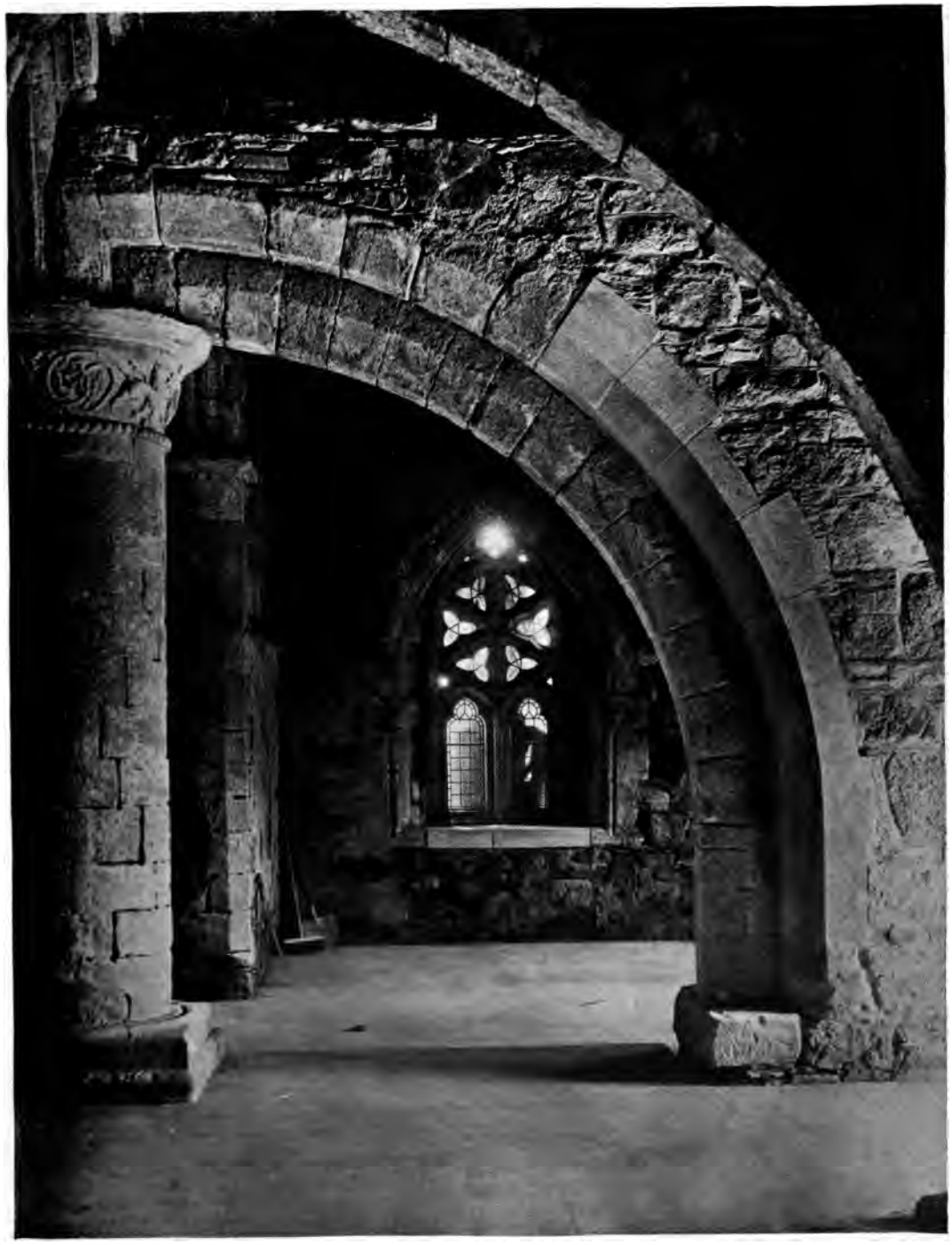
6 inches) resting on coupled shafts; and so completely was the scheme carried out at Iona that (as at Amalfi) the "springers" at the corners, set at right angles to each other, rested on quadruple capitals wrought on one stone and carried on four detached shafts like the others. We were fortunate enough to find one of these corner caps and one of the bases, much defaced, as they had been used as building stones since the Reformation. They are now preserved in the chapter-house. The soffites of the arches are enriched on the inner half by mouldings and dogtooth ornament, but on the outer half they have only a simple chamfer. The coupled shafts also differ from each other: the outer shaft is octagonal and the inner one circular. The octagonal shafts show a peculiarity which I have never seen anywhere else, namely, what I may call an exaggerated entasis, increasing in diameter midway between the base and the capital by one inch, thus allowing the neck moulding to be wrought on the shaft instead of on the capital, as usual. The capitals of the round shafts are peculiarly interesting and varied and beautiful examples of the Iona style of the early thirteenth century, to which I have already referred as exhibited in the north side of the choir. The examples remaining are all sadly mutilated. Several of them, and of the coupled bases, were found last year when the dilapidated pavement of the choir (seventeenth century probably) was taken up. Both capitals are wrought on one stone, and so are the bases. The bases turned upside down made good pavement, and one with four bases wrought on it must have been regarded as quite a find by the paviors. We certainly regarded it in that light, as it clearly indicated what I had only expected, that the arcading had been continuous, returning at the angles on a cluster of four detached shafts. We had further confirmation of this on finding the stone with portions of four capitals wrought on it to which I have already referred. The neck and greater part of the bell of the caps had been "clured" off to allow the top bed of the stone to be utilized as pavement. On the whole, I think the idea of this elegant bit of work has been taken from Italy rather than from Ireland.

Now, at each corner of the cloister there stands the remains of a clumsy diagonal flying buttress. In order to get a sufficient abutment for this

the builder had to destroy the beautiful composition at the corner which I have described, and two bays of the arcading on each side of it. The chief peculiarity of these, as well as of the exceptionally clumsy flying buttress in the south aisle, is that they are inexplicable.

The refectory is a good consistent piece of early English, which will at once be recognized as such; but the age of the cloister arcade is not so easily determined. The small arches might pass for early English, but the capitals would not. It is impossible to give any indication of what kind of buildings (if any) stood on the west side of the court, but on the east side we have a still later building. It is a very plain building, showing few details, but these do not indicate a greater age than the end of the thirteenth century, and it seems probable that the cloister was not built before that. How then are we to account for the carving of the cloister shafts being so like the carving of the chapter-house? I cannot account for it, or form any very decided opinion on the subject at present, but I may say that after a careful examination of the remains connected with the Cathedral—St. Oran's Chapel and the Nunnery—I have not the least doubt that the sculptors at Iona were seldom brought from a distance, and that they were very much given to repeating forms with slight variations which had long fallen into desuetude elsewhere. They were very far from being "up-to-date" craftsmen. Frequently—as in the case of the tomb on the east side of St. Oran's Chapel, and in the case of the chapel itself—they seem to have been furnished with an excellent design, but not with full details, and, in consequence, made a frightful mess of it. Perhaps there was a local lodge of masons with special privileges.

The time at my disposal will not allow me to extend my description of the buildings, and I shall only refer to two other peculiar features. One of these is the east window of the south aisle. This window had been carelessly filled in with rubble, which had helped to preserve here and there parts of the tracery, so that its delicate mouldings could be reproduced, but the tracery was found to be in such a state that the whole of it had to be renewed. A generous subscriber to the Restoration Fund—Miss Campbell of Blythswood—having agreed to bear the



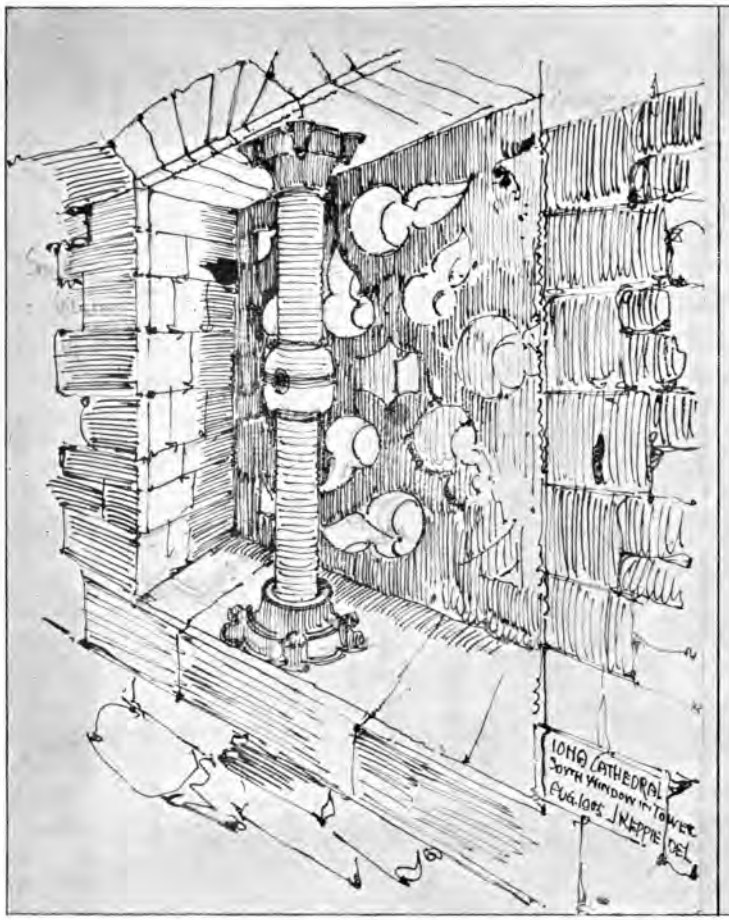
Iona Cathedral.—South Aisle, looking East.

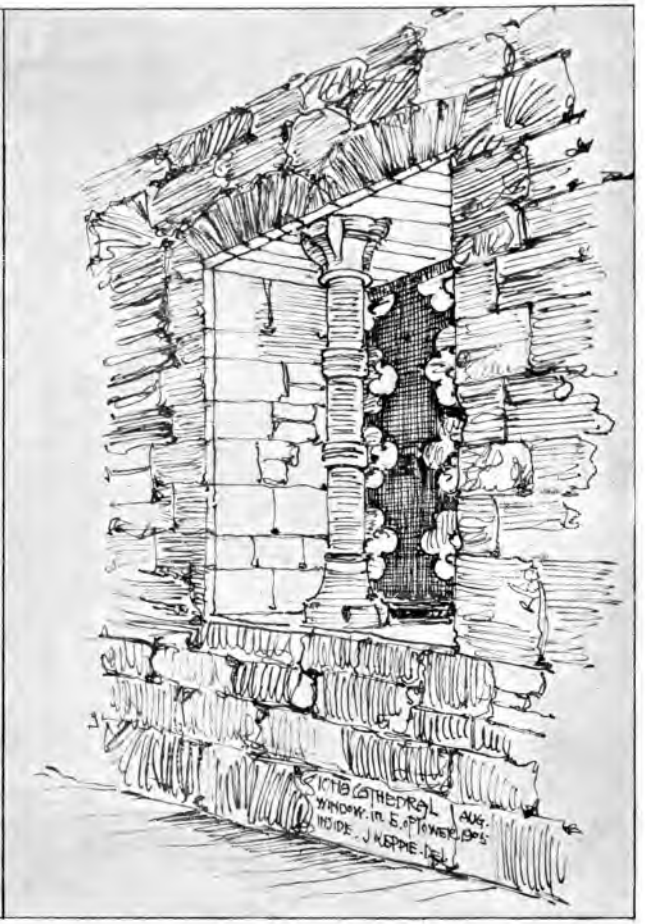
expense of this much needed work, the window was completed and glazed before winter set in, and I am able to show you a measured drawing of it. Not only is the tracery unique both in form and the variation of the mouldings, but so is the treatment of the rear arch jambs and inner sill; and the disposition and excellence of the sculpture is also remarkable. The other point I shall direct your attention to is the bell chamber in the tower, which shows several peculiar features. The floor has been about three feet below the window sills, which are flat across the whole thickness of the wall. The windows are low but wide. The outside is filled with late tracery, while the flat rear arch is supported at the centre by a very peculiar column of a very archaic type. The sketch exhibited shows this curious feature, and also another seldom seen, namely, the filling up of the large square window in front of the column from lintel to sill with heavy tracery differing in design in each of the four windows.

Above these there are a few very small windows, or rather holes, one of which, however, has in it two quatrefoils. The square holes were, no doubt, intended as openings for the use of pigeons, as the upper part of the tower appears to have been intended for use as a dovecot, and a large number of pigeon holes is formed in the inner face of the wall. I think this peculiar kind of tracery was specially designed to break up in some degree the force of the wind in this exposed position, as it is evident that there never existed any louvres in the windows.

The sculptured slabs and crosses of Iona are well known, and have been illustrated in the works of Stuart, Drummond, and others, and more particularly in the admirable work of Mr. Romilly Allan and Dr. Joseph Anderson, recently published. I need not, therefore, refer to many examples, but may confine my remarks to a few which exhibit some special features of interest. One of the most beautiful monuments in the Cathedral is the effigy of Abbot M'Kinnon. The monument is carved in a variety of mica schist of a peculiarly compact character, which is found on the Island of Mull and on Kintyre, and a few other places in Argyllshire. It has been largely used for the carved stones and crosses of the West of Scotland, but it is by no means a suitable

material for such refined and delicate detail as is to be found on the M'Kinnon effigy. The Abbot is represented in his robes reclining with his head on a pillow and his feet resting on two animals, which may have been intended to represent either lions or dogs. At the head two angels sitting on cushions support the cushion on which the head of the Abbot rests. The monument is of great weight, and is raised about eight inches above the floor by four lions—two at each end. The monument suffered much during long years of neglect and exposure. The lions were destroyed or stolen, with the exception ot one which escaped with little injury, and served as a model for the others, which were restored last year. The feet, hands, and crozier were also broken, the angels taken away, and, finally, nearly the whole of the head was deliberately knocked off and removed, and for many years no trace of it could be found. We owe its recovery to the tact and perseverance of an old and esteemed friend, Mr. John Hutchison, R.S.A., the well-known sculptor, who frequently spent his summer holiday at Iona. Mr. D. M'Kinnon, of Great Winchester Street, London, who has subscribed liberally to the general Restoration Fund, added a sum which I thought would be required to restore this monument, but I have not expended the whole of his generous gift. The recovered head was fixed in its place again without alteration, and the new work was confined to the three lions already mentioned, which were required along with the old one to raise the slab to its proper position. I did not think it advisable to restore the two angels, although we found the headless trunk of one of them under the pavement of the choir—another indication that that pavement was laid *after* the Reformation. On the opposite side of the choir another effigy of similar dimensions rests. It is that of Abbot M'Kenzie, the immediate predecessor of M'Kinnon, who was the last of the Abbots. This effigy is of freestone, and has therefore suffered more from exposure to the elements, and about as much from the hands of man; but the design and the redundancy and similarity of detail leave no doubt on my mind that the two were produced by the same artist. The probability is that the freestone monument was imported, and that M'Kinnon was so much struck by the exquisite work that he imported the artist and


LONG CATHEDRAL
SOUTH WINDOW IN TOWER
AUG. 1905 J. NEPPIE DEL.


LONG CATHEDRAL
WINDOW IN E. OF TOWER
INSIDE. J. NEPPIE DEL.
AUG. 1905

set him to work on the local stone. M'Kinnon evidently had his monument completed before his death, and only the first portion of the date "M.D." is carved. I may mention that the M'Kenzie slab was also raised from the floor like the other. One of these supports has been found, but it is so much defaced as to be hardly recognizable. It appears to have been some bird, probably an owl or an eagle, standing upright.

On the same place in front of the altar there is between the two just described a tombstone of considerable interest covering the burial-place of the Macleods of Dunvegan. It consists of a large slab, in the centre of which is silhouetted the figure of a knight in armour, with a relief of about three-quarters of an inch which was formerly covered by a brass or, as some say, a plate of silver, engraved after the manner of the period, which was stolen many years ago. Detached from the central figure was a border, bearing the inscription, which has also, of course, disappeared. The silhouette is remarkably well executed, and shows the character of the sword, helmet, and other features distinctly.

There are many other interesting monuments in the Cathedral, but their proper positions have not been identified, and the final arrangement of the monuments has been postponed till the contemplated restoration is completed.

Mr. Alexander Ritchie, an enthusiastic admirer of everything at Iona, who has made a special study of the carved stones and crosses, has, by kindly lending me the casts before you, given me an opportunity of showing those of you who have never visited Iona, illustrations which will be better understood than any description I could give. The beauty of design and excellence of work conspicuous in these examples are not exceptional, but could be easily multiplied.

Besides the peculiarities which may be observed in the architecture of the Cathedral, there are many others of great interest to be found among the other ecclesiastical remains on the island to which I cannot refer in this paper. There are also many objects of a different kind which possess much archaeological interest and many natural beauties and peculiarities which make a visit to the sacred isle attractive to the student of Nature as well as the student of art.

No. VIII.

THE MATRIMONIAL ADVENTURES OF JAMES V.

BY

SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL (LYON KING AT ARMS).

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 16th Nov.*, 1905.)

IN addressing you to-night, I wish in the first place to express my deep sense of the honour you have done me in asking me to open this session of the Glasgow Archaeological Society. I do not in any way profess to be "an eminent archaeologist." I am not a pre-historic man, and even on Roman camps I am afraid I look with more awe than intelligence. But it has been my lot—I should rather say it has been my duty—for a large portion of my life, to study subjects which lie rather off the beaten track of the ordinary reader. I should have liked to-night to have talked to you about Heraldry and all its associations, but I found it impossible, from lack of time, to prepare anything in that field that would have been worthy of your acceptance. But there was another subject which I thought might interest you, and on which I could speak with more ease and less preparation. I have for some years been engaged in editing for the Lord Clerk Register's Series of Government publications the accounts of the Lords High Treasurers of Scotland during the reigns of James IV. and James V. In one of the last of these volumes (one not yet published) the accounts deal with the expenses incurred in connection with the marriages of the King, first to Madeline of France, and then to Mary

of Lorraine. This set me to look into the circumstances which led up to these marriages, and I found that much more consideration than is usually supposed, had been given to the subject of a suitable union for the young King of Scots by the various European Courts. No great details were to be found as to this in the ordinary histories of Scotland, not that the eminent writers like Hill Burton, Mr. Andrew Lang, or Professor Hume Brown did not know the facts, but that it was impossible for them on the scale on which they were working, to do more than devote a very few lines to the subject or dismiss it with an incidental allusion. Few, if any, of our historians have treated any of the periods before the time of Queen Mary in detail, certainly none have touched upon the negotiations for the marriage of James V. But I am almost ashamed to say that what we have not done, has been done for us by a foreigner; M. Edmond Bapst, at one time the Secretary of the French Embassy in London, published in Paris in 1889 a volume entitled *Les Mariages de Jacques V.*, a work distinguished by high scholarly research and thorough treatment of the subject. He has examined all the available resources, and gives chapter and verse for all his statements. To all appearance, therefore, he has said the last word on this bye-path of history, and it is to his inspiration and industry that you owe the subject of my address to-night.

Flodden had come and gone; a great battle thrown away by the chivalrous fantasy of a belated Paladin of romance. Scotland lay stunned and all but paralysed by the blow; her new Sovereign was an infant of little more than a year old; his mother, Margaret, was a girl of twenty-four, who at fourteen had been married to her husband from the nursery and had spent her wedded life in a Court which, though sufficiently brilliant, was neither in manners nor morals a very good school for her development. In 1513, then, she found herself in a position the responsibility of which might have tried even abler women. She was by no means stupid, but she was inconstant, impetuous, stormy, with Tudor blood running hot in her veins. Not the least disturbing question with which she and her counsellors had to deal, was the future of her son, and especially what alliance could be ultimately arranged for him in the best

interests of his country and himself. It must be kept in view that at this period nothing was more common, not merely in Royal circles, but even amongst the lesser nobility, than for children to be contracted in marriage, the ceremony itself taking place when they had attained more mature years.

And the King of Scotland was by no means the least eligible of *partis* in the European matrimonial market of the day. True, his country was remote and poor; his nobility were a rough and stern race, forever warring against themselves, and with few courtier-like accomplishments amongst them, yet in her own way Scotland could be a useful ally, and it was far from unimportant to gain her friendship. If she stood by England, then these two countries could oppose a united front to France; if she threw in her lot with France, she could always harass England on the north; even the Emperor himself could not afford altogether to despise the little northern kingdom, since, sure of its alliance or even of its neutrality, his plans in relation to other European states would be rendered the more easy of accomplishment.

It is not surprising, then, that negotiations for the marriage of the infant King began at a very early period. In 1516, when James was only four years old, Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Ross, was despatched by the Estates to Paris to propose that he should be espoused to the Princess Louise, the eldest daughter of Francis I., and then hardly a year old. It might be thought that the Estates had taken time by the forelock, and that there was not much chance of their being anticipated, but this was not the case. When Cockburn reached Paris it was only to find that the young lady's hand had already been promised to Charles, who had just succeeded to the Spanish throne. But Francis was not going to let the Scots ambassador go without some hope. While he refused to ratify a treaty for the renewal of the ancient Franco-Scottish League which had been signed by his own Ambassador M. de Plains, he suggested that perhaps his wife would have more daughters, and in that case the negotiations might be more successful. The event anticipated actually happened, and next year, in 1517, a Treaty was signed at Rouen providing for a defensive alliance between the two countries, and one of the clauses stipulated that

the Princess Charlotte, the second of Francis' daughters, who by this time had been born, should become the wife of James, unless through the death of her elder sister she had to take her place as the fiancée of the Spanish King. This contingency did actually occur within a few weeks after the signing of the treaty, so that this adventure did not achieve success.

Further efforts, however, continued to be made in the same direction. The French Queen in the most convenient manner presented Francis with a third daughter, Madeline. When Albany returned to Scotland in 1521 he signed, in the King's name, a ratification of the Treaty of Rouen, but in the clause of the original Treaty the name of Madeline was substituted for that of Charlotte. Matters were then thought to be well and definitely arranged, but the event turned out far otherwise. The Treaty and its arrangements were, as might have been expected, not at all to the liking of Henry of England. Indeed, he was most indignant, and on the very natural refusal of Albany to obey his orders to leave the country, he formally declared war. Francis would not support the Scots when requested to fulfil his part of the treaty, and so Albany prevailed upon the Estates to reject an offer by the English King of the hand of his daughter Mary for the Scottish sovereign; war was carried on though not with any very definite results. A proposal was also made at this time—it is not very clear why—that David Beaton should be sent to France to request Francis to accord to James, instead of the hand of Madeline, that of his latest born daughter Marguerite, who first saw the light in June, 1523.

At this time Frederic, Duke of Holstein, who had succeeded to the throne of Denmark, suggested that as a reward for promising to send 3000 troops to Scotland, James should marry his second daughter. Albany did not see his way to encourage this scheme, but without formally declining it, he said that he had believed that both the King's daughters were already engaged. Whether this was true or not, it had at all events, the effect of delaying matters, and meanwhile, in 1524, Albany quitted Scotland for the last time, taking with him David Beaton, with the firm intention of prevailing upon Francis to assign definitely the hand of one of his daughters to James.

Albany having gone from Scotland, the fickle Queen-mother swung round to the English side, and succeeded, though not without opposition, in inducing the Peers to repudiate the League with France as expressed in the Treaty of Rouen. She laughed at another futile attempt by the King of Denmark to get the claim of one of his daughters considered in relation to her son, and approached her brother with the suggestion, (which he had himself made some time before), that James should marry his daughter Mary, and that he should be proclaimed the second person in the kingdom of England. Henry, however, did not rise to the suggestion; all he wanted was to see France and Scotland embroiled with each other, a result very likely to occur without his being trammelled with any family matrimonial arrangements. But Margaret had influence, and her messages were not to be treated too cavalierly; so Henry sent two ambassadors to Scotland with instructions to tell his sister privately that he quite agreed with her views, but the difficulty in the way was that his daughter Mary had already been promised to the Emperor Charles V. It might perhaps be got over, but in the meantime there was no hurry, and she was requested to press the English cause resolutely in Scotland. Margaret was none too well pleased, but an embassy was sent from Parliament to demand from Henry a peace in which France should be included, and his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The Queen mother, on her own account, gave private instructions that if Henry would allow the nuptials to take place at once, France might be thrown over altogether. To this embassy Henry replied expressing himself as agreeable to a peace, but averse to any formal engagement between the cousins. He proposed that James should meanwhile be sent up to England for his education, but to this the ambassadors could not take it upon themselves to agree, and they sent one of their number back to Scotland for instructions. Queen Margaret did not give any direct reply to the last proposal, but she expressed herself willing that the marriage should not take place till her son was fourteen, if Henry on his part would give some substantial guarantee that it would then be carried out. But difficulties arose with her Council, the end of which was that the custody of the young King was taken away from his mother. Angry with her brother

for other causes, she now became as vehemently French in her politics, as she had before been vehemently English. Seeing she had only a few weeks before received with considerable coldness a proposal of Francis that her son should marry one of his daughters, and the offer of a seigneurie in France of 4000 livres of rent for herself, she could not very well throw herself into the arms of France. But she wrote to Albany and sent an ambassador to France with assurances of her devotion to that country, and saying that she would see that no peace was made with England till she had further news.

But now came the defeat of Pavia, and Henry had visions of dividing France with the Emperor. He therefore told the Scottish Council, who were pressing for the English marriage, that he could do nothing without the consent of Charles. Much negotiation went on, into the details of which it is impossible to enter, but the end of it was that on 15th January, 1525-6, a Treaty for a three years' truce with England was signed at Berwick, without any mention of the marriage, and James was absolutely free of any engagement, unless, indeed, he were bound by the Treaty of Rouen as regarded a daughter of Francis, but this treaty had already been broken by both contracting parties.

The next move in the game was made by Albany, who proposed to Francis, that an envoy should be sent to Scotland to endeavour to create a rupture between Angus and Arran, but the French king had no wish to provoke the hostility of Henry by taking such a course, and as to the marriage of James with one of his daughters, he had already promised one of them under the provisions of the Treaty of Ligue to the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza. But to Albany's second proposal he was more inclined. This was that James should marry Albany's niece. You will be rather surprised to hear who this niece was. She was no less a person than Catherine de Medici, her mother, Madeline de la Tour, being a younger sister of the Duchess of Albany. There were difficulties in the way, however; Henry had designs on her for his bastard son, the Duke of Richmond, and Pope Clement, her guardian, was averse to the Scottish match. These might perhaps have been got over, but the scheme was nipped in the bud by Wolsey, and it is probably fortunate for Scotland that it did not become

the centre of Catherine's malign influence, though, of course, we cannot say how she might have turned out under the influence of a different environment.

After another vain attempt to get Francis to say something definite with regard to the alliance between one of his daughters and the Scottish king, the latter, who was now fourteen, and had at last shaken off the yoke of the Douglases, felt that he was discourteously treated, and being merely played with. He conceived a violent hatred against Francis, and began to look elsewhere for a bride. The first overtures came from Denmark, not this time from King Frederic, but from the dethroned King Christian II., who offered either of his two daughters, Dorothy or Christine, with a dowry of 10,000 crowns. This, however, did not meet the views of the Emperor, who announced his intention of carrying out an engagement between James and his own sister, Marie, the ex-Queen of Hungary, whose husband, Louis II., had fallen in the battle of Mohacz on 29th August, 1526. This plan was not at all to the liking of Henry, who once more dangled the bait of his daughter Mary before the eyes of James. The latter was not to be caught so easily; he promised the English ambassador that he would not marry without his uncle's consent, and went so far as to say that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to marry his cousin. In his heart he was himself in favour of the Imperial match. But when he acquainted Francis of his desire, which he did in 1530, the French King was seriously alarmed and wrote James a very strong letter on the subject. Whatever effect this may have had on the recipient, a still more formidable obstacle appeared. The young lady principally concerned, a young widow of twenty-five, had, as sometimes happened with ladies even in the sixteenth century, a mind of her own, and expressed her decided aversion to marrying a youth nine years younger than herself, and of whose person and kingdom she had probably heard no very flattering accounts.

The position now was this—Albany wanted James to marry his niece Catherine, but most of the powers, and especially the Pope, were strongly opposed to his project. The Emperor was willing to give James his sister, but to this Henry was opposed, while the endeavour to procure

the hand of either a French or an English princess did not meet the views of either of the parents of these ladies. None of these proposals, however, were actually abandoned, and indeed they were all in turn more or less prosecuted through the tortuous paths of diplomacy, till in 1531 the matter took a new turn, and the Emperor intimated his readiness to bestow upon James the hand of Dorothy, one of the daughters of Denmark, who had already in 1528 been proposed for him. James would much rather have had the ex-Queen of Hungary, as the sister of the Emperor was a much better match than the daughter of a dethroned king. But meanwhile he consented to open negotiations at Brussels for the match and sent Sir David Lindsay, the Lyon, there as his ambassador. Lindsay found that there was not the least chance of Queen Marie changing her resolution not to marry the Scottish King, but Charles intimated that if he did not like Dorothy he might have her sister, and he gave Lindsay the portraits of each to send home to show to his master. Unfortunately, on the way to Scotland, the portraits, along with a letter from Sir David to the King, fell into Henry's hands through the ship in which they were being wrecked on the English coast, and, as may be imagined, the news did not please the English King. But Lindsay returned in October and gave James the Emperor's message, assuring him that he would support him in any war with England. James no longer hesitated, but announced his acceptance of the hand of Dorothy and his intention of sending ambassadors to the Emperor to conclude the match.

It might be thought that the thorny question of the King's marriage was settled at last. But other interests came in the way; neither Francis nor Henry had any idea of allowing James to be married to a nominee of the Emperor, while each of them were equally opposed to his marriage with the daughter of either. The former now let it be understood that he might have his daughter Madeline, and James would have thrown the imperial match to the winds and jumped at the offer had it not been that Henry, when applied to for safe-conducts through England for the Scottish Embassy, took alarm and asked an explanation from the King of France, and not finding his reply quite satisfactory, asked him to repudiate

categorically any intention of giving his daughter to the Scottish King. Francis replied that he had certainly no wish to give her to him, but that he did desire to offer him a bride from one of the highest French families. He suggested for example Marie de Bourbon, the eldest daughter of the Duc de Vendôme; failing her, there was Marie de Lorraine, then a girl of sixteen, the daughter of the Duc de Guise, or thirdly Isabeau d'Albret, daughter of Jean d'Albret and Catherine de Foix, Queen of Navarre.

James, however, knew nothing of these proposals of entirely new brides for him, and thinking that his union with Madeline was finally settled, issued letters-patent, authorising Albany to marry that princess in his name whenever she came of marriageable age. But Francis threw difficulties in the way; he shuffled and procrastinated, and it was only after long negotiation, and the sending of several ambassadors that he was driven to an ungracious and qualified assent. But he would not condescend on any date for the wedding, pleading that the princess was too young, and delicate, but he stated that if James did not care to wait for her he should be happy to give him Marie de Bourbon or her younger sister Marguerite. Again much negotiation followed, into the details of which we cannot enter, and these were complicated by the intrigues of the Queen of Navarre, who wished her sister-in-law Isabeau to marry James. Francis was able to baffle her designs, but continued to be obdurate as regarded giving a definite answer about his daughter, and he still pressed Marie de Bourbon on the notice of the Scots ambassadors. The latter then tried to bring Francis to the point by intimating to the representatives of the Emperor at Paris that their master would be ready to open negotiations again for the hand of Dorothy of Denmark. But Dorothy, alas, was either already wedded or on the point of being wedded to the Count Palatine Frederick. So Charles after making the extraordinary proposal that James should go and marry his cousin Mary, suggested that one of the best possible matches for him would be the Infanta Marie of Portugal, who was said to be the richest heiress in Europe with a dowry of over a million crowns of gold.

But Francis was determined that James should marry none but a Frenchwoman, and he was adroit enough to succeed in getting him to reject both the proposal of marriage to the Infanta and another proposal

in which the name of the eldest sister of Christian, Duke of Holstein, figured. He was even able, by the promise of a dowry of 100,000 crowns, to secure the consent of James to send an Embassy to discuss the Bourbon marriage, although it was not a match which attracted him much, as Marie was said to be decidedly plain, and, like her sister, to be "sore made awrye." Her mother, too, had not been the best of characters before her marriage, and he thought the breed might not be a good one.

An Embassy, however, was sent, and James endeavoured to extort better terms as to a dowry, and much haggling went on as to this, the negotiations being complicated by the fact that Dorothy of Denmark again appeared on the scene, her husband the Duke of Milan having died. Her claims were got rid of and James intimated his intention of acceding to the Bourbon marriage, and of coming personally to France to bring home the bride. He also stipulated that her retinue should be as small and simple as possible. At last things seemed to be in a fair way to be settled; the treaty was actually signed on 6th March, 1535-6. Francis was to pay to James 120,000 livres tournois on the day of the wedding, and 80,000 were to be furnished by the bride's father, the Duc de Vendôme; Dunbar and the munitions therein, which were in the hands of the French king, were to be delivered free to the Scots; and the collar of the Order of St. Michael was sent to James.

But James, the fickle, was not to be brought to book so easily; just at this time, indeed, his thoughts were turned everywhere but to France. Henry had again been suggesting a match with his daughter Mary, and a meeting had actually been arranged to take place at York between the two monarchs; but on the news of the signing of the French contract the negotiations were broken off. Again another fair one intervened, and this time it was an *affaire du coeur*, not a mere diplomatic alliance. James was in love with Margaret Erskine, the daughter of Lord Erskine; indeed she had been his mistress for some years, notwithstanding the fact that she was already the wife of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven. He suddenly resolved to marry her, got a divorce from her husband pronounced by the local court, and endeavoured to get this ratified by the Pope. This he failed to do, and, seeing that his conduct was rather too much even for the

easy-going morals of that age, relinquished the project as suddenly as he had conceived it, and once more turned his thoughts to Marie of Bourbon.

He resolved to go to France himself and treat in person for the conclusion of the marriage. He set sail from Pittenweem on 23rd July, 1536, with a small squadron under the command of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart. He did not get far, however, and was compelled to return by stress of weather. On the first of September he made another start, this time with a larger *entourage*, among which were the Earls of Argyle, Rothes and Arran, and the Lords Maxwell and Fleming. They arrived at Dieppe on the tenth, and then the king set off to St. Quentin where the Duke of Vendôme was. He endeavoured to get sight of his bethrothed without himself being known, and passed himself off as his esquire's servant. But the plan failed, the lady having recognised him by means of a portrait. He was very hospitably treated by the duke, but the damsel turned out to be hump-backed and deformed. James, the would-be suitor, therefore got out of St. Quentin with as much grace as might be, and went to Paris where he enjoyed himself exceedingly, and indeed he so knocked himself up that he could not meet Francis at Lyons as he ought to have done. When he did meet him he told him he really could not take Marie, and begged him once more to let him have the hand of his daughter Madeline. Francis shuffled as usual; agreed to give up Dunbar at once which was one of the stipulations of the Bourbon contract, but by which he was not now of course legally bound, if James was going to repudiate it. As to his daughter, he said there were state reasons why he could not agree to the proposal at once, but if James would wait a little they would go to Lorraine together where the Princess was, and that then—well, then they would see what they would see. Meanwhile he endeavoured to get Marie out of the way by offering her to the Marquis de Pont à Mourson, the eldest son of the Duc de Lorraine, and nephew of the influential Cardinal of Lorraine, who himself wanted Madeline for his nephew. But poor Marie had fallen in love with James, who must have made himself agreeable at St. Quentin, and would not hear of marrying any one else. But Francis thought he had done his duty by her and did not trouble further in that matter.

Henry of England had next to be dealt with; he did not at all like the idea of his nephew marrying the Princess Madeline, but very urgent domestic matters were at this time occupying his attention, and he was not able actively to oppose the match, so Francis found his way pretty clear to do as he liked. After some delay he took James to Amboise—a place where in the next generation his daughter Mary was destined to witness some awful scenes—where Queen Eleanor was staying with her two step daughters Marguerite and Madeline. Francis told James that he might have either of them, intimating, however, that he would rather he chose the former, as Madeline's health was not, he feared, and as events turned out, truly feared, strong enough to withstand the rigours of the Scottish climate. As usual, James, of course, preferred the lady he was not wanted to have, and Madeline on her side was anxious to be a queen. The marriage was therefore soon decided on, and the contract was signed at Blois on 6th November. The Princess got as dowry 100,000 écus of gold; the religious betrothal took place on 26th November. The French Court then went to Fontainebleau, where it stayed till Christmas. James meanwhile went to Paris ostensibly to prepare for the wedding, but I am afraid doing very much the reverse. However, he enjoyed himself thoroughly and had a very good time with his future brothers-in-law, the Dauphin and the Duc d'Orleans, jousting and playing other games. The Paris shops seem to have exercised as much fascination for him as they have for ladies of the present day. He was in and out of them all day long, buying fine dresses for himself and presents for his new relations. Indeed he got rather laughed at, and the very carters in the streets used to remark, "There goes the King of Scotland."

Well, the short December days passed on; James employed them, as we have seen, running about that dirty, picturesque, and quaint old city of Paris, of which few traces now remain. One of these, however, is intimately associated with the King, for it was to the Hotel de Cluny—which many of you probably have seen as a museum—that he went shortly before his wedding day to make a retreat which appeared "long" to the Bishop of Paris himself. On 31st December he made a ceremonial entry

into the city and met the Parliament of Paris at Antoine au Champs. The President made him a long speech, after which James embraced him without uttering a word. Whether this arose from his inability to speak French, as is stated in the registers of Parliament, is not certain, but it is hardly likely. Proceeding "with a great company of bishops and lords" he arrived at Notre Dame, and stayed that night in the Bishop's house. Next day the ceremony took place in the cathedral, being performed by the Cardinal de Bourbon, an uncle of the young lady who had fallen in love with James, but whose figure had frightened him.

Here was James, then, wedded at last, and he had nothing now to do but take his bride home to her new kingdom, an account of which had been prepared for her use by Jehan Desmontiers.[1] But it was not far from the wedding bells to the funeral dirge.

The poor young Queen, apparently in an advanced stage of phthisis, became seriously ill at Rouen, but after some time she rallied, and the couple sailed from Havre on the 11th May, 1537. They were accompanied by fourteen Scottish and eight French ships. They had a rough passage, but the voyage was fairly expeditious, as they arrived at Leith on the 19th. Here she received a warm Scottish welcome, but the excitement of the arrival and the chill winds of an Edinburgh May—which were no doubt as trying then as they are now—were too much for this fragile French flower, and within a few weeks, on the 7th July, she passed away at Holyrood, "much regretted," says Brantôme, "by the King and all the country; she was very good, and had made herself beloved, possessed great spirit, and was very wise and virtuous."

So the brief wedded life came to an end, and the position of James was much as it had been before. He at once dispatched David Beaton as an envoy to Francis with the tidings of Madeline's death, and with instructions to say that his master desired nothing more than a continuance of the alliance with France, and that if the King showed himself sensible

[1] This account was founded on Hector Boece's History, and was afterwards printed in 1538. A reprint by Dr. Laing appeared in 1863. There is a detailed notice of it by Mr. A. H. Millar in the first volume of the *Scottish Historical Review*.

of these assurances, he should ask him for the hand of "some honest and virtuous princess of his kingdom." The upshot of Beaton's embassy was that Marie of Lorraine, the eldest daughter of the Duc de Guise, was proposed as his next wife. She was a widow with two children, her husband, the Duc de Longueville, having died in the previous June. James expressed himself satisfied with the arrangement. "We are not anxious," he wrote to Francis, "to come out of our widowhood, but to please our well-beloved father-in-law, the King of France, we have pleasure in accepting the Duchess of Longueville." An extraordinary and unlooked-for rival, however, appeared on the scene. Henry of England was looking out for a fourth spouse after the death of Jane Seymour, and of all people in the world he pitched upon the Longueville widow as a suitable successor. For once, however, Francis was firm, and the proposal of the English King was politely declined, with an intimation that if he wanted a French wife Marie de Bourbon was at his disposal.

Little more remains to be told. Marie had a dowry of 100,000 livres tournois, to which the French King added 80,000. Even then it was not quite a regal endowment. But James expressed himself satisfied, and in May, 1538, he sent Lord Maxwell as his ambassador to espouse the lady in his name. The ceremony was performed at Paris on the 18th May, and the new Queen landed at Crail on the 10th of June. Why she was brought to the east coast of Fife is not clear; perhaps James did not wish to renew his recollection of his arrival at Leith with another bride so shortly before; or perhaps it was on account of the plague which was then raging in England, if not in Scotland itself. From Crail James and Marie proceeded to St. Andrews, where on the 11th June they received the nuptial benediction.

And thus his matrimonial adventures came to an end. They had been many and mostly unfortunate; it is useless to speculate on what the history of Scotland might have been had he married any of the other women proposed for him. We may be glad, at all events, that he did not marry Catherine de Medici. How the Emperor's sister, the ex-Queen of Hungary, or the Infanta of Portugal, would have turned out, it is of course impossible to say; one would have wished that the gentle Madeline had

had a better chance. In any event we should have had no Queen Mary, though what the country in that case would have lost in romance it might have gained in solidarity. There are probably few persons who have tried to marry so many girls, or have had so many matches proposed for them. Beginning with Louise and Charlotte of France, we find mentioned in connection with the King's name, Mary of England, Marguerite of France, two Danish Princesses, Catherine de Medici, Dorothy and Christine the daughters of the dethroned King of Denmark, Marie, the ex-Queen of Hungary, Marie de Bourbon, her sister Marguerite, Isabeau d'Albret, the Infanta of Portugal, the Duke of Holstein's sister, Madeline of France, and Marie of Lorraine. After having had seventeen young ladies, members of the best families in Europe, to choose from, we may not think he perhaps got the best in the person of his second wife. But who can tell? Meanwhile I have endeavoured to give you, as briefly as I could, a summary of the circumstances which led up to a union which proved to be pregnant with serious and eventful consequences to the Scottish people and their kingdom.

No. IX.

THE KINDLY TENANTS OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF GLASGOW.

BY

JOHN ARTHUR BROWN.

(*Read at a meeting of the Society held on 15th February, 1906.*)

In dealing with the kindly tenants of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, my remarks will of course be confined to the temporalities of the see. But before making a rapid survey of the lands comprised within what used to be called "St. Mungo's Freedom"—the patrimony of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow and the Ministers thereof—it may be of interest first to call to mind the extensive spiritual jurisdiction exercised at various times by the Bishops and afterwards by the Archbishops of Glasgow.

Passing over the obscure period from the death of St. Kentigern in 603 to the restoration of the see in the early part of the twelfth century, when Bishop John, the Chancellor, formerly the tutor of King David I., ruled the diocese, we find at the latter period this sturdy prelate claiming as within his spiritual jurisdiction the country from Loch Lomond in the north to Rere Cross in Stainmore, on the borders of Westmoreland and Yorkshire, in the south, and from the shores of Carrick in the west to Kelso in the east. It is true that at this time the Bishop of Durham also claimed jurisdiction in Teviotdale, and probably in Cumberland and Westmoreland. Nevertheless it was fully a hundred years later before the Bishop

of Glasgow resigned all claims upon that part of his diocese now within the Bishopric of Carlisle. The spiritual oversight of Teviotdale, on the other hand, was soon surrendered to the diocese of Glasgow by the Bishop of Durham. Thus from about 1260 until the Revolution of 1688 the Diocese of Glasgow comprised the counties of Lanark, Dumbarton, part of Stirling, Renfrew, Ayr, part of Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, Peebles, Selkirk, and Roxburgh, over which extensive area the Bishops and Archbishops of the see exercised their spiritual functions.

The temporalities of the see—the patrimony of the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter—comprised the Baronies of Glasgow, Ancrum, Lilliesleaf, and Ashkirk, the three latter in the county of Roxburgh, and the Baronies of Stobo and Eddleston in Peeblesshire, and Carstairs in Lanarkshire. There were also the lands of Bishop's Forest in Galloway, a ploughgate of land in Linlithgowshire, and some acres in Carrick, Clydesdale and Dumfriesshire. All these lands formed the Bishop's patrimony, and were mostly within the lordship or regality of Glasgow as it was defined in the fifteenth century. The Dean and Chapter had other landed endowments appropriated to them in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire and elsewhere. I do not attempt to deal with the identification of the lands entered under their ancient nomenclature in the Inquest of David; but the foregoing list sets forth the temporalities belonging to the Archbishopric at the time of the Reformation.

It is well to understand the powers and privileges conferred by a grant of regality, for such were possessed by the prelates of the see in their manors and baronies from an early date. A grant of Regality enabled the possessor to hold his lands embraced in the grant, directly of the King, *in free regality*, that is, with certain of the *regalia minora* of the Crown conferred upon him. The most valuable of these *regalia minora* were incident to the extended powers of jurisdiction held by the lord of regality within his franchise. His civil jurisdiction was equal to that of the King's Sheriff, but his criminal jurisdiction was more extensive, and embraced the four pleas of the Crown—murder, robbery, rape, and wilful fire-raising. The fines of Court and escheats and forfeitures of tenants largely augmented the revenues of a lord of regality;

and where he had a special grant of "free forest"—as the Bishops of Glasgow possessed—he obtained in addition the fines and escheats of those who contravened the forest laws within his jurisdiction. A grant of regality also included all that a grant of barony could convey to the holder, and also the right to have a Chancery office whence writs were issued for the service of heirs within the liberty.

The recital of these privileges gives some idea of the temporal power enjoyed by the Bishops as feudal lords of regality. These privileges, however—great as they were—seem comparatively unimportant when viewed beside the very extensive powers possessed by the Bishops in the neighbouring Bishopric of Durham. The Bishops of that see held all the aforesaid *jura regalia*, and in addition their privileges as Counts Palatine included the right of coining money in their own mint at Durham; of issuing commissions to raise forces and levy subsidies; of appointing Sherriffs and Justices of the Peace (who, however, had no greater powers than the Stewards or Bailies of Regalities); the right to pardon treasons and murders, and the right of holding councils in the nature of parliaments, to which they summoned their barons and tenants. Within the palatinate of Durham, therefore, the maxim held good "*quicquid Rex habet extra, Episcopus habet intra*": the Bishop had the powers of the King within the Bishopric.

Bearing in mind, therefore, the extensive powers of the bishops as feudal barons, it is interesting for us to observe their conduct as landlords, and the condition of their tenants from time to time, and especially at the period of the Reformation, when we have the records of the existing rentals and services.

Before discussing these rentals, however, it will be well to go back to the time when money was scarce and rents were paid in service by so many days' labour and in "Kain-duties" (as they were called in Scotland), that is, in the produce of the ground, being so much grain, or so many oxen, sheep, fish, or poultry, etc.

The tenants of the Bishopric in the twelfth century might perhaps be divided into three classes—Thegns, Drengs, and Natives or Villeins as they were generally termed. Perhaps I should add a class of small free-men

coming between the drengs and villains—the "smallmen" described in the North of England tenures. The thegns and drengs, however, would be confined to the baronies of Tweeddale and Teviotdale, for these tenures did not obtain in the West country; but the largest proportion of the Bishop's men would, of course, be found amongst the villains or "*neyfs*." In course of time the thegns and drengs had their tenures altered and became military vassals of the Bishopric, their predial services being commuted for a money payment, in addition to the military obligations of their holding. Some of their descendants, however, would be found amongst the rentallers or kindly tenants, afterwards to be described, who represented the natives or bondsmen of the earlier period.

These different classes of tenants, in addition to paying their rents or customs, were all bound to perform services to their lord the Bishop. The services of the thegns or drengs, being freemen, were defined and certain; but the natives, being serfs and *astricti glebae*—bound to the soil—were liable to be called on to perform services according to the requirements of their master or his steward. All, however, were liable in *merchet*, or a fine upon the marriage of their daughters, in order to compensate the lord for the loss of a subject; and all owed suit in the Court of the Manor or Barony in order to prosecute or defend, and to serve upon the assize or jury.

Thegns were larger landholders than drengs. The following extract from the "Testa de Nevill"—a collection of twelfth century documents,—shows the nature of the tenure:

"Gilbert of Calveleye holds two *vills* of the King *in capite*, by the service of 30s. a year, and by *thanage*, wherefore he ought to give merchet and aid, and every other day, from the close of Pentecost until the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*, he finds one cart with one log for the castle of Bamburg, and he is bound to carry it thither, and in the meanwhile he does no other service and he owes suit at the county court."

Drengage was a tenure peculiar to the north of England and to Lothian and Teviotdale in Scotland. From the Boldon Book of the Bishopric of Durham—the record of a survey made by Bishop Pudsey in 1183—the following entries show the incidents of this tenure:

"William of Oxenhall does the service of the fourth part of one

drengage, that is, he ploughs 4 acres, and sows them with the seed found by the bishop; he harrows them, and performs 4 precations in autumn—to wit, 3 with all his men and his whole household, the housewife excepted, and the fourth with one man for each house, his own house excepted, which shall be free, and he keeps a dog and a horse for a fourth part of the year, and he carts wine with 4 oxen, and makes utware when it shall be laid on the bishopric." Again, in Great Ussworth, "the dreng feeds a dog and a horse and attends the great hunt with two greyhounds and five ropes, and he follows the pleas and goes on messages." And again, in Herington, "the dreng feeds a dog and a horse, as much as pertains to two parts of the land in drengage; he attends the great hunt with greyhounds, and carts two parts of one tun of wine, and follows the pleas and goes on errands." The first of these entries relates to the agricultural services performed on the bishop's demesne by his dreng, the latter entries refer to the tenant's duties in attending the great hunt (*caza magna*) with dogs and ropes, and keeping a horse and a dog for the use of the bishop when he came to hunt. The bishops of Glasgow had a manor house both at Ancrum and at Ashkirk in Teviotdale in the neighbourhood of Ettrick Forest, and doubtless they indulged a taste for the chase both there and in the Bishop's Forest in Nithsdale.

With regard to the agricultural tenants of the district in which were the baronies of Ancrum, Lilliesleaf, and Ashkirk, I may quote a description of the Kindly Tenants of the Barony of Bowden, in the same county and contiguous to the bishop's baronies, taken from a Rental of the Abbey of Kelso of about the year 1290, which was still a time of prosperity on the borders. After enumerating the *cottarii*, who each possessed from one to nine acres of land along with his cottage, for which he paid rent and rendered services in spring and autumn, it goes on to describe the holdings of the *husbandi*, or small farmers, who each held their husband-land for half a mark (6s. 8d.) of money rent and the following services:—four days' reaping in harvest by the husband, wife, and family; one day carrying peats; and the service of a man and horse to and from Berwick once a year. The husbandman was further

bound to plough an acre and a half of the demesne lands and to give a day's harrowing with one horse, and also to find a man at sheep-washing and one for sheep-shearing, and to serve with a wagon one day at bringing in the harvest. These latter were called *boon-works*, representing the services afterwards commuted for an extra payment called "bon-silver" in the Paisley Abbey rentals. In addition, the tenants were bound to carry the Abbot's wool to the Abbey store, and to find carriages across the moors to Lesmahagow in Clydesdale, the priory there being a dependency of Kelso. Similar services by the husbandmen and other tenants are described in a Rental of Coldingham Priory a few years later. Thus in the manor or township of Fishwick, adjacent to the Tweed and a few miles above Berwick, which the Prior held in demesne, there were sixteen husbandmen who each held about 30 acres, and each paid a rent of 6s. 11d. Besides, those who had ploughs had to plough one acre for the Prior and to harrow the same, for which he was allowed a meal once a day with four of his fellows and sufficient drink. Moreover, he gave two days' reaping in harvest with two of his men, and they had their food from the Prior. Besides those duties there were services of carriage, casting turf, hoeing the fields, washing and shearing the sheep. And several of the tenants worked at the fisheries, which formed a valuable adjunct of this manor.

The *nativi* or serfs were bound to the soil, and are mentioned in charters as being, along with their families, transferred with the land and its appurtenances. The Coldingham Rental describes the duties of both bondsmen (*bondi*) and freeman (*liberi*) at a time when the one class was gradually passing into the other. The Church took the lead in emancipating the serfs, and after the 13th century we find no reference to the Bishop's neyfs, there being a strong presumption that about that period they became kindly tenants of St. Mungo's Freedom.

The bishops retained certain of their lands in demesne, and we know that they had manor houses at Ancrum, Ashkirk, Carstairs, Lochwood, near Coatbridge, and at Partick, besides their palace of the Castle of Glasgow. They probably had a hunting lodge also in the Bishop's Forest in Nithsdale.

We find many interesting details of estate management in the chartularies

and custumals of the various religious houses. The following summary is taken from Professor Vinogradoff's *Villeinage in England*: "The management of the estate, the collection of revenue, the supervision of work, the police duties incumbent on the manor, etc., required a considerable number of foremen and workmen of different kinds. Great lords usually confided the general supervision of their estates to a seneschal, steward or head manager, who had to represent the lords for all purposes, to preside at the manorial courts, to audit accounts, to conduct sworn inquests and extents, and to decide as to the general husbandry arrangements. In every single manor we find two persons of authority. The bailiff or beadle was an outsider appointed by the lord, and had to look to the interests of his employer, to collect rents and enforce duties, to manage the home farm, to take care of the domainial cattle, of the buildings, agricultural implements, etc. These functions were often conferred by agreement in consideration of a fixed rent, and in this case the steward or beadle took the name of *firmarius* (*Domesday of St. Paul's*, 122). By his side appears the *reeve* or *praepositus*, nominated from among the peasants of a particular township, and mostly chosen by them. The reeve acts as the representative of the village community as well in regard to the lord as on public occasions. He has more especially to superintend the performance of labour imposed on the peasantry, and in attending courts, etc., four men acting as representatives of the village accompanying him."

The foregoing must present, I think, something of the economy of a border barony in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and before the troubled times of the Wars of Independence, when we in Scotland began to diverge so much from the laws and customs of our English neighbours. The reeve, of course, gave place in Scotland to the birleymen (burgh-lawmen), the arbiters appointed by the community of the township to preserve the laws of good neighbourhood.

Other officials of the English manor were the *messor*, who took charge of the harvest and sometimes acted as collector of fines imposed for the benefit of the lord. The *ackermanni* or *carucarii* were the leaders of the unwieldy ploughs of the time. Cattlemen are also mentioned as well as keepers and warders of the woods and fences. The officers and servants

were remunerated in various ways. Sometimes they were allowed to share in the profits connected with their charges. The swineherd of Glastonbury Abbey, for instance, received one sucking-pig a year, the interior parts of the best pig, and the tails of all the others which were slaughtered in the abbey. The foremen and labourers, on the other hand, were remunerated by liberation from the labour and payments which they would otherwise have rendered for their tenements. This was the case in Ettrick Forest, where the rangers or *cursors* sat rent free.

The services and duties of the tenants were further regulated by the proceedings of the barony or regality court. In the earlier period of its existence the court was composed of the whole body of suitors, that is, the free tenants of the barony, who were not only the prosecutors, but also the judgment-finders, under the presidency of the steward or bailiff. It was only in later times that the steward presided as sole judge of the court, and even then a jury of the barony tenants was frequently empanelled in order to try cases of tenant right, or to judge concerning the customs of the district. The lord himself was subject to the jurisdiction of his own court. Instances of prosecution, such as the following, occur in England in the early manorial court-rolls: "Ploughmen who have performed their ploughing on the lord's land badly; villains who have fled from the fee and live on strange soil; a man who has not fulfilled some injunction of the lord; a woman who has picked a lock appended to the door of her cottage by the bailiff; an inveterate adulterer who loses the lord's chattels by being fined in the ecclesiastical courts"—all such are presented to be punished, and are fined or put into the stocks, according to the nature of their offences. It should be noticed that an action committed against the interests of the lord is not punished by a one-sided act of his will, or by the command of his steward, but treated as a matter of legal presentment. Thus, in a roll of the Abbey of Bec, we read that "The Court presented that the following had encroached on the lord's land, to wit, William Cobbler, Maud Robbins, widow, John Shepherd. Therefore they are in mercy." Each was fined 12d.[1] Sometimes

[1] *Selden Soc.*, ii. 6, 7, 8.

the amercement was imposed on the advice or by a decision of certain suitors singled out as persons of special credit.

The fines of Court were a considerable source of profit to the owner of a large baronial jurisdiction, and latterly the office of judge or bailie of the Court came to be farmed out for a fixed sum payable to the lord; and in certain regality jurisdictions the office of bailie was hereditary, and the actual duties were generally performed by a depute. The Earls of Lennox for several generations thus held the office of bailie of the Regality of Glasgow. Their deputies were usually the provosts of the city. And, in 1606, we find Archbishop Spottiswoode appointing Lord Roxburgh Bailie and Hereditary Justiciary of the Baronies of Ancrum, Lilliesleaf, and Ashkirk.

As time went on, the Bishop's men, both freemen and villains, acquired a security of tenure, and such heritable rights in their holdings as in Scotland we are now only accustomed to associate with feudal grants and conveyances. Their tenure, however, was not a *feudal* tenure in the strictly legal sense; it was a species of copyhold. They were known as the kindly tenants of St. Mungo and held their tenements by copy of the Bishop's Court Roll, according to the custom of St. Mungo's Freedom. How secure and favourable to the kindly tenants the customs of the Archbishopric were, a study of the somewhat scanty records of the see will show.

Before discussing these, however, it is perhaps desirable to describe generally the nature of the tenure of the rentallers, or "Kindly tenants" as they were called; the name suggesting a long period of attachment between their families and that of their lords, and the easy rents under which they sat implying a special favour shown to them on that account. I use the description of Mr. Walter Ross as having the authority of one well versed in the history of Scottish Law. "Both in England and Scotland the lords and proprietors of land had a number of tenants upon their property who had immemorially occupied their possessions and paid their original rents and other services. These people were the progeny, partly of the villains who had become free and of freemen who farmed the lands. They had no charters, leases, or other rights to their

possessions, but attended the courts of their lords and had their names, payments, and possessions entered by the bailiffs or stewards in the rentals or lists of tenantry belonging to the manor. These possessions in England, by the neglect of some masters and indulgence of others, grew into a right. The son succeeded the father by entry in the Court. Alienations by surrender came to be admitted, and thence arose the tenure of copyhold by which a great part of the lands in England are now held. The origin of the kindly tenants was the same as that of the copyholders. They and their predecessors had long remained upon the property lands of the King, the Church, and of many of the great families. Their rents were easy, and a particular degree of kindness and attachment was presumed to subsist between them and their masters. The Church, being possessed of a great part of the lands of the kingdom, moderated, by a piece of good policy, the envy that must have attended that situation; they let their lands to the younger sons of families at moderate rents, assumed them into the state of kindly tenants, and allowed them to possess, as long as they paid their rent, from generation to generation."

It was on the Borders that kindly tenancy chiefly prevailed. The tenants of Ettrick Forest held by this tenure, first under the Douglases, and latterly under the Crown; their tennandries being called "forest steads." Holdings by "kindlyness" were also found on the East Coast as far north as Aberdeenshire. No traces, however, of this tenure is to be found in the Highlands (Hill Burton). It was, moreover, a customary tenure, growing out of usages within the barony "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." The custom of one Barony might not be the custom of a neighbouring one; but whichever custom applied it was simple enough to decide by an assize of the tenantry in their own Baron Court. The holdings were called "roumes," "tennandries," or "mailings," and in many estates were alienable as well as strictly heritable, the tenants being designated "heritable proprietors," and the evidence of their title being an extract from, or copy of, the entry in the rent-roll under the hand of the lord or his steward.

To come now to a more detailed description of the rental rights of

the kindly tenants of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, I shall give the results of an examination of the one volume extant, recording the rental rights of the kindly tenants of the four baronies of Glasgow, Carstairs, Stobo, and Eddleston for the years 1509 to 1570, a period of just over sixty years. During this period the following Archbishops—James Beaton, Gavin Dunbar, Alexander Gordon, and the second James Beaton—ruled the diocese. The term of office of the last named prelate saw the Reformation take place in Scotland, and this Archbishop granted to many of his rentallers feus of their tennandries at practically the old rents and for similar services. These feudal grants were afterwards confirmed by the Crown in terms of the Act of Parliament, 1587.

This rental book, published by the Grampian Club in 1875, begins with a solemn invocation of the Saviour and of the Virgin Mary. The original is in the handwriting of the three Archbishops, during whose possession of the see it records the entries of rentallers, there being no rentals extant of Archbishop Gordon. The marginal notes were probably added by the Chamberlain who received the rents, or by the clerk who attended the Court held for the admittances and surrenders.

The first entry in the book runs thus:

"Thomas Steven rentalit in Xs. Xd. worth of land of Achinnarne be the consent of Margret Myllar wedow; he has mareit the said wedow, and scho is content he suld be rentalit; he suld pay X merk. Scriptum iiii^{to} Septembris anno quingentesimo nono.

(sgd) JA. GL. ARCHEPUS."

We gather from this entry that the Archbishop has received and admitted as his kindly tenant in 10s. and 10d. worth of land in the township of Auchinairn, in the barony of Glasgow, Thomas Steven, with the consent of Margret Myllar his wife, who formerly was life-rented in the holding as the widow of a rentaller. He paid a fine or grassum of 10 merks for his admittance, about twelve times the amount of the annual rent of 10s. 10d. Ten shillings and tenpence worth of land is about 28 Scotch acres, according to the equation—a 40 shilling land of Old Extent is equal to a carucate or ploughgate of 104 acres.

Considering the depreciation of the Scotch currency at this period, its

value being then about a fourth of the English or Sterling coinage, and notwithstanding the greater purchasing power of money in these times, the rent of 10s. 10d. per annum for the enjoyment of 28 Scotch acres (nearly 36 Imperial acres) of land seems an easy burden. From an examination of the charters feudalising these rentallers' holdings, it appears that, generally, the rents payable were exactly of the amount of the Old Extent valuation—a valuation dating from at least the thirteenth century, and made probably for the purposes of a royal aid or taxation. When the rents were not wholly paid in money the balance was paid in grain or poultry, and some conversion prices are stated in the charters granted shortly after the Reformation by Archbishop Beaton, with consent of the Dean and Chapter; *e.g.* a boll of barley or of oatmeal is to be the equivalent of 6s. 8d.; a boll of corn (oats) 5s.; a capon is rated at 18d. and a hen at 8d. Some of the small farms appear to have paid their rents entirely in kind, but the usual proportion seems to have been about four-fifths in money and one-fifth in kain duties, such as barley, oatmeal, horse-corn, poultry, and, where the lands bordered on the Clyde, so many salmon were rendered. These conversion prices appear very low even for that period, and indicate that money was then a scarce commodity.

In addition to their rental the roums of the kindly tenants were thirled to the Archbishop's mills, according to their districts, and a proportion of the grain went to the remuneration of the miller and his servants. The only services in the Barony of Glasgow due from the kindly tenants at the time of the Reformation seem to have been those of *arriage* and *carriage*, that is, conveyance by horse or wagon, but in addition the tenants had to give suit at the three head Courts in the year, held at Easter, Michaelmas, and Christmas.

The extent of the roums varied in the Glasgow Barony, from a nine-merk-land (312 Scots acres) to a cot-land of 3 or 4 acres. The larger holdings, many of which were held by churchmen and by laymen of good family, were often sub-let to smaller tenants; but the generality of the Archbishop's men must be looked for in the class of peasant proprietors farming their roums of from 13 to 50 acres and more, with the prospect of adding to their holdings if their industry or good fortune enabled them

to buy up their neighbour's land. The rentallers also had rights of pasturage, casting peats, etc., on the commons, all in proportion to the size of their roums. The Bishop's men, in his Barony of Ashkirk, had a right of pasturage in Ettrick Forest. The average holding in the Glasgow Barony was, I think, about 20 acres, corresponding nearly with the husband-land of 2 oxgates or thereabouts which prevailed in the Border baronies. In England the virgate (2 oxgates) was the typical peasant's holding.

The evidence of the rental book seems to bear out that a free trade was done in the land, for the roums are sometimes split up and again added to according to the requirements of the rentallers. In the Barony roll of Eddleston we find entered the minute of a steel-bow contract between a farmer and the Archbishop (*Rental Book*, p. 70). The Archbishop's mills too were held by rentallers; and indeed the old mill of Partick, with its mill lands, existed as a copyhold estate down into the eighteenth century, when it became enfranchised, following upon a petition to the Crown by the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, into whose possession the mill had come.

An interesting rental is one dated 17th August, 1543, of the manor house and demesne of Columby, in the Barony of Carstairs, by which James Livingstone, younger, of Jerviswood, his wife, and his son William are rentalled in consideration of their repairing and keeping up the mansion house, and receiving the Archbishop with his retinue whenever it pleases him to come. His lordship was to remain there at his own charges, save that his kindly tenants had to find "fyre, weschelle, and tyn," with six furnished beds, stable for eight horses with hay, and fuel upon their expense. Livingstone was probably chamberlain of the barony.

In discussing the kindly tenants of the Barony of Glasgow, it must be remembered that although the circuit of that barony embraced the parishes of Govan, Glasgow, Cadder, and part of Monkland, yet a large portion of Glasgow parish was not occupied by the Bishop's rentallers. The territory of the city was held by burgage tenure, also several parcels of land in the vicinity formed endowments for members of the Chapter, and a large tract of the landward portion of the parish (afterwards called Barony Parish) was comprised within the tennandry of Barlanark or Provan, the patrimony of

one of the Cathedral canons. There is no evidence to show that the tenants of Provan held their lands by a tenure similar to that of the Bishop's rentallers, although that manor had once been a part of the Bishop's land.

Where questions arose regarding the customs regulating the rights of these kindly tenants, these would appear to have been decided in the Court of Kindliness upon an inquest made by a jury of the tenants. (*Glasgow Protocols*, No. 1096). Surrenders and admittances seem usually to have been made personally in open Court, but for the convenience of persons who could not be present, a notarial certificate of the surrender was deemed sufficient if produced by their procurator. Words of style are few, and entries in the rental book are couched in a variety of terms, conventional and popular, for the Archbishops doubtless despised the pedantry of the law. Although English is generally used for the entries in the book, still there are a few in Latin; and occasionally a Latin phrase is introduced when the main part of the entry is in English.

Various family settlements are set forth in the entries. Here is an example:

1529. "Die XV^to^ Decembris, Maister Jhon Sprewyle is rentalit in ane merk land of the Lambhil, be consent of David Hucheson, and eftyr his decess, Wilzam Sprewyle, his brudyr son, and falzeand of the said Wilzam, be his decesse, to Jhon his fadyr, reservand faculte to the said Maister Jhon to dispon upon the sammyn without their consent."

This Master John Sprewyle appears to have been a churchman of the diocese. The operative word of admittance as a kindly tenant of the merkland of Lambhill is "rentalit." This is the usual term employed in the entries of the rental book, but the phrase "admittit in rentale" also occurs (p. 104). "Admittance" and "Surrender," of course, are the terms appropriate to a copyhold estate. The consent of David Hucheson is taken, he being the last tenant who had probably sold the "Kindness." "Overgiving," however, is the term generally used in the rental book, to indicate the surrender of a roum to a new tenant. In the above entry the new tenant, desiring to make provision for the succession to his roum, obtains a destination of the same upon his death to his nephew William Sprewyle, whom failing to his own brother and namesake John

Sprewyle, the father of William. Conscious apparently of the inconstancy of human intentions, and perhaps of the ingratitude of relatives, the said Master John has power reserved to him to sell the property at any time without the consent of his kinsman above named. From a later entry under date 15th of March, 1557, it appears that Master John had survived both his brother and nephew, and that on his decease his niece Janet was entitled to be rentalled in his tenement, with the consent of her sisters, as heir-portioners, and their husbands.

The following is an interesting example of a marriage contract:

"1554, Decimo sexto Julii, is rentaillit Jhone Crawfurd in to IXs. land in Wuer Possil, be the consent of Pait Lawcht and Jonat Morison, his spous, and that be vertew of ane contrak of mariage appointit be the forsaid John Crawfurd on that ane pairt and Pait Lawchis dothyr Elezebetht Lawcht on that uthyr pairt; and faillzeand the forsaid contrak hald nocht fordwart the land above specifeyt to returne the said Patrick, providing that Jhone Crawfurd entre presently to forsaid land in hop the band be completit, quhowsoun he be requirit thairto; and the forsaid Patrick and his spous ar bund and oblist, efter thair dices to ourgyf the rycht of uthyr IXs. land Vuir Possill quhilk thay presently brukis to the forsaidis Jhone and Elezebetht, that they cum to the rentail thairof."

Here John Crawford, who has contracted to marry Elizabeth Lawcht, is rentalled in a nine shilling land, about 23 acres. He would have to pay a fine or grassum of about £5 to the Archbishop for his entry. If he did not fulfil his promise of marriage, the land was to revert to the lady's parents, but, on the other hand, if the marriage was completed, the parties were to succeed to another IXs. land on the death of the bride's parents.

It would appear that if an heir or a disponee did not enter (that is, become enrolled and pay the fine or grassum) within the proper time the roum became forfeited and "lay vacant" in the hands of the Archbishop. A widow had also to pay a fine or heriot when her succession opened, but the amount thereof I cannot tell. Possibly it was half of what the heir would pay. Although the rents were of small amount, these fines must

have formed a considerable augmentation to the revenues of the Archbishopric; afterwards, when the lands were feudalised, they appear to have been restricted to an additional year's feu-duty in the case of heirs.

It was indeed a kindly custom of the Archbishopric (known as the custom of St. Mungo's Widow) which gave the relict of a rentaller her free-bench or liferent of the *whole* roum possessed by her husband. It was a requirement, however, that the widow should not marry again without the Archbishop's licence, otherwise she forfeited her privilege; but licence being given, her husband was entered as a rentaller along with her during her lifetime. This custom, however, was not peculiar to the Archbishopric of Glasgow, but seems to have been common in many baronies in Scotland where there were kindly tenants. In our rental book some entries show that the custom was altered by agreement in certain cases, and the widow was only to have half the tennandry for life; her eldest son, presumably, being destined to succeed to the other half, immediately on his father's death.

As, strictly speaking, there was no inheritance in a copyhold, so unless the children were rentalled during the lifetime of their parents, the roums were said, upon the decease of the latter, to lie vacant in the hands of the Archbishop. But the ordinary customs of heritable succession seem to have been thoroughly established throughout the Archbishopric, and after the decease of parents, children are rentalled in their stead; daughters, if more than one, succeeding as heirs-portioners, and brother succeeding brother, etc., all in accordance with the rules of the common law.

As mentioned before, sales of kindly tennandries seem to have been unrestricted, although from about 1554 onwards, Archbishop Betoun usually inserted at the end of the entry recording the new tenant's title words inferring that the sale was by his consent or special licence.

We have also in this rental book evidence that mortgages were registered therein, and from the minute stating that an appriser has been rentalled conform to the King's letters, we may infer that the roums could be adjudged in payment of debt by a writ issued in the King's name.

From the volumes of the *Protocols of the Glasgow Town Clerks*, edited by Mr. Robert Renwick, we get some information as to the value

of and the amount of the mortgages raised upon these tennandries in the neighbourhood of Glasgow in the sixteenth century. Thus, in 1563, the "Kindness" or rental right of a 6s. 3d. messuage in Meikle Govan—that is, about 16 acres of land with the dwelling house—was sold for 140 merks. Again, we read of the redemption of a wadset of 5s. 5d. worth of land (14 acres) in Auchinarne, for payment of 144 merks 6s. 8d.; and again that a wadset of 13 acres in Dalbeth has been redeemed for 132 merks, or 352 times the amount of the ground rent paid to the Archbishop.

The ground rents within the city were much higher, for we find that in 1507 an acre of land in the Drygate yields a ground rent or ground annual of 28s. (Simon's *Protocols*, No. 263). Within the Barony of Glasgow an acre of ground only yielded to the Archbishop a rent of 4½d. or so, being the amount of the Old Extent valuation.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century the Archbishops, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, began to grant feus to the kindly tenants, although by doing so no greater fixity of tenure was implied. The Charters stated in express terms that "a rental right of the barony had always, beyond the memory of man, been considered as effectual as if the land had been granted to the rentaller in feu-farm." The Charters were granted in consideration of the old rents, with a trifling augmentation in some cases, and the fine or grassum was fixed at a year's feu-duty on the entry of an heir. Thus, the Charter in favour of George Elphingston of Blythswood, of the £6 land of Old Extent of Gorballs and Bridgend, and half of the 5-merk land of Woodside of Old Extent (both formerly held in rental) bears that the reddendo or feu-duty for Gorballs and Bridgend shall be £6, with 8 bolls of meal to the Mill of Partick for dry multure; and for Woodside it shall be 33s. 4d., with 6 firlots of malt and 6 firlots of horse corn, besides the customary multures of the said mill *for the old rent and dues.* The augmentation was to be only 12 pennies, and the money payments were to be duplicated at the entry of heirs. A shilling was a very usual augmentation to the old rental when a charter was granted, and a Scotch shilling was not a very heavy burden on land at the end of the sixteenth century. It would appear to

have been a kindly spirit that prompted Archbishop Betoun to secure his ancient tenants in their lands, at, and after the troublous times of the Reformation, seeing that little or no advantage accrued to himself thereby; but it was of great benefit to the rentallers in dealing with the lay lords of regality who became their superiors afterwards, and who were bound by the precedent of the church to grant feus on the like easy terms.

There are no entries in the rental book published by the Grampian Club affecting the kindly tenants in the baronies of Ancrum, Lilliesleaf, and Ashkirk, nor those ancient tenants who, as "portioners," occupied heritably the 20-merk land known as the Bishop's Forest in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Irongray, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. We get some knowledge of their holdings, however, from Charters in the Great Seal Register. It appears that in the two baronies of Ancrum and Lilliesleaf lying adjacent, or nearly so, in the valley of the Ale, a tributary of the Teviot, the common holdings of the kindly tenants were either husband-lands, for each of which they paid a rent of 16 shillings, or cot-lands, of which the rent was 3s. 4d. As the Old Extent valuation applied to the rental of these baronies, a husband-land there would be about 42 acres, and a cot-land about 8 acres. In the barony of Ashkirk, higher up the valley, the tennandries appear to have been larger as a rule; but the land there is not so fertile as in the lower reaches of the river. In Stobo and Eddleston, in Tweeddale, the holdings were often of the extent of an oxgang, or 5-shilling land; but there the soil was richer and husbandry could be more easily and profitably carried on.

In the year 1613, Archbishop John Spottiswoode, with consent of the Dean and Chapter, feued the lands of Bishopforest amongst fourteen of the old tenants, or "portioners" as they are called in the charter. The tennandries varied in size from a 2½-merk land to a 5-shilling land—*i.e.* from 86 to 13 acres—the larger portions representing land that had not been fully cleared. The rentals here were not of the Old Extent valuation. Thus, Homer Maxwell of Spiddach, for the 5-shilling land of Craiginloff, of Old Extent, is now to pay a feu-duty of 12s. 10d.—the old rent—with 4d. of augmentation. His services due to the bailie of the Archbishop are to provide half a horse *ad glebas*, and half a reaper in

Glasgow Archaeological Society.

INSTITUTED 1856.

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